

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN AND THE KHOSA, 1854 - 1861.

THE RÔLE OF A FRONTIER CAPITAL
DURING THE HIGH COMMISSIONERSHIP OF SIR GEORGE GREY.

G.S. HOFMEYR.

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PREFACE

This thesis sets out to examine the important rôle of the Xhosa in the development of King William's Town during a crucial period. The local Xhosa community and the nearby Ama Ntinde tribe under Chief Jan Tzatzoe obviously made a major contribution to the history of British Kaffraria's capital in this era (1854-1861), but there were many other external forces. The interaction between cultures in and around King William's Town affected the Xhosa at all levels. This process of acculturation was hastened by many of Sir George Grey's administrative measures. He established several institutions in the Kaffrarian capital for the benefit of the Xhosa population as a whole and some aspects of his "native policy" are still applied on a national basis. Grey's administration therefore forms one of the central issues.

Another important theme which will become apparent in this thesis is that the interaction of historical factors, events and persons in this phase extended much wider than the narrow confines of King William's Town's physical boundaries. In a wider context the revival of missionary zeal abroad and the vacillating native policy of the Colonial Office in London had a direct bearing on the Xhosa and their rôle in the town's history.

In several respects the Kaffrarian capital's history was influenced and in turn had a bearing on broader South African history. Apart from being one of the earliest missionary outposts among the Blacks, the town assumed a national rôle in the cattle-killing catastrophe which affected the lives of many thousands of Xhosa and determined future labour policy. The establishment of an institution like the Native Hospital had wide implications too in breaking the power of witchcraft. Grey's many visits to King William's Town and his discussions there with officials, largely determined his native policy as a whole. The capital's importance as military headquarters in several of the Frontier Wars is well-known.

In keeping with the modern emphasis on social history, this thesis will devote attention to many cultural facets. This may emphasize that in a subject of this nature history cannot only be regarded as "past politics". It will become apparent too that throughout the period under consideration segregation was applied at all levels in King William's Town. Finally, the aim of this thesis is to make a modest contribution to a growing interest in Black-White relations and local history. Both these aspects

until recently have received inadequate attention in South African historiography.

The social history of the Xhosa in particular has been sadly neglected. There are a number of works on native policy as it affected the Xhosa politically over the past two centuries, but few of these books refer to the many other results of contact between two cultures. The Xhosa have usually been regarded as part of a larger political problem and not as an integrated factor in creating the present structure of South African society. Although it deals with the Frontier native policy in general, I have found A.E. Du Toit's The Cape Frontier very useful and accurate.

Concerning King William's Town itself, A.W. Burton dealt with certain aspects of the town's rich heritage in his books Sparks from the Border Anvil and Highlands of Kaffraria. However, I have found that these works are often fragmentary and unreliable and they have little relevance to the rôle of the Xhosa in the Kaffrarian capital. B. Holt's Greatheart of the Border was a valuable source of information about the Rev. John Brownlee and Chief Jan Tzatzoe. There are no other secondary sources which deal in any detail with the Xhosa's rôle in this crucial era of King William's Town's history and I had to rely heavily on archival sources and current newspapers. This is also the first detailed study about the rôle of the Ama Ntinde tribe and their Chief Tzatzoe. Despite its small size, this tribe is certainly one of the best recorded ones in South Africa — probably because of their proximity to the capital.

A problem hampering an objective and balanced approach when dealing with a subject like this, is the all-too-common lack of written evidence reflecting the Black viewpoint. In the case of King William's Town, Tzatzoe was an educated man who had also been to England. However, the written records left by him are confined to one or two letters (written in another handwriting) on administrative matters. There is not a single document in the extensive British Kaffrarian Records — covering 462 volumes — that reflects the innermost feelings of the local Xhosa at the time.

I hope that my training in Social Anthropology has helped to lessen the dangers of ethnocentricity. I found this background essential in the study of a changing Xhosa community and in outlining the many facets of

their contribution to King William's Town's history. In dealing with my subject I have come to the conclusion that an interdisciplinary approach is of the utmost importance in trying to avoid some of the pitfalls of "The White Man's View".

Sir George Grey's High Commissionership (1854 - 1861) was chosen as a logical period for this thesis. It was an era of peaceful reconstruction, transition and progress for Black and White in King William's Town after three successive Frontier Wars. Grey laid many important administrative foundations which have influenced the local Xhosa population to this day. It was a decisive phase of social and economic change too in which the Kaffrarian capital played a central part — for example, in breaking the powers of the Xhosa chiefs and the influence of witchcraft, as well as in the introduction of new food items and clothes. The cattle-killing episode and King William's Town's rôle in it was also a watershed. Between 1847 and 1861 the capital had developed from a mission station with scattered Xhosa huts and kraals to a town one-and-a-half miles long and half a mile wide. With its status as a capital, King William's Town was then seen as one of the most important towns in Southern Africa.

The year 1861, in another respect, can be regarded as a logical end to this study, with King William's Town acquiring municipal status in June. The daily lives of the Xhosa inhabitants after that, were affected to an increasing extent by this form of local government; the rôle of the civil and military administration diminished accordingly. By 1861 this frontier community was properly established and the future social pattern determined. For the purposes of this thesis, the European part of King William's Town, the surrounding Xhosa villages, the Buffalo Mission, as well as Chief Tzatzoe's territory around the capital were chosen as the physical limits.

The chapter arrangement in this thesis is thematic, but within each theme chronological sequence is followed. For perspective it was sometimes necessary to give a fairly detailed description of the position before Grey's arrival. It is impossible, for example, to describe the central rôle played by an institution like the Buffalo Mission or an individual like Tzatzoe without the necessary background information.

With regard to terminology, I have used the words "Xhosa" and to a lesser degree "Blacks" when referring to the Xhosa-speaking Nguni persons or groups who influenced King William's Town's history. These terms are

applied to the Fingo too, unless otherwise stated. The alternatives, "Kaffirs" and "Natives"(to a lesser extent), were invariably used in contemporary documents, but are not used because of the derogatory connotations which they have since acquired. Because of practical reasons and as it is still used widely, the phrase "Native policy" has been retained.

Where necessary, tribal distinctions are acknowledged. When referring to those local inhabitants of predominantly British descent, the terms "Europeans" or "Whites" are used. The area which now comprises the Republic of Transkei was in the 1850s still generally referred to as "Kaffraria Proper" - a term which has been retained in this work. A brief explanation is due too concerning the spelling of Xhosa names. The simplest forms, which were usually also current in that era, were used. The Ama Ntinde Chief is therefore referred to as Jan Tzatzoe and the Rarabe Paramount Chief as Sandile. The names of the Xhosa Paramount Chiefs Kreli and Gaika were for the same reasons preferred to the ethnologically more correct Sarili and Ngqika.

Despite metrication and decimalization, it was decided to leave the old weights, measures, sizes, distances and currency as they were in that period. These terms are still familiar.

There now remains the pleasure of thanking the many who have helped to make this thesis possible. I am in the first place indebted to Prof. A.M. Davey who, as my supervisor, gave me invaluable advice, perceptive guidance, constructive criticism and continuous encouragement. A word of appreciation is also due to Mr. D. Comins(Director) and Mr. B. Randles(Historian) of the Kaffrarian Museum in King William's Town. It was Mr. Comins who first inspired me to undertake further research into King William's Town's history after my transfer there by the Department of Co-operation and Development. Mr. Randles has been most helpful in providing me with local information and further leads.

I am very grateful to the Director of the Archives, Mr. J.F. Preller, and the staff of the Cape Archives Depot, for the generous use of their facilities. The assistance rendered and interest shown by the Director and Mr. S. Schoeman, the Head of the Depot, as well as Miss L. Du Plessis, Senior Archivist, is particularly appreciated. My sincere thanks must further be expressed to Dr. A.M. Lewin-Robinson and the staff of the South African Library for their considerable contribution. In addition, the Jagger

Library at the University of Cape Town, the Cory Library at the University of Rhodes, the Albany Museum and the Africana Museum in Johannesburg have given cordial co-operation. I am also grateful to Mrs. M. Du Toit and Mrs. R. Houghton for the typing of this manuscript. Finally, this thesis has been made possible by the encouragement and assistance in immeasurable ways which I have received from Annalet and my parents.

ABBREVIATIONS

B.K.	British Kaffrarian Records.
C.O.	Colonial Office Records.
D. Beobachter	Deutscher Beobachter.
G.H.	Government House Records.
G. Journal	The Graham's Town Journal.
K. Gazette	The King William's Town Gazette.
L.G.	Lieutenant-Governor's Records.
D.S.G.B.K.	Deputy Surveyor-General's Records, British Kaffraria.
Z.L.	Microfilm Collection, London Missionary Society, Cape Archives.

INTRODUCTION

a. Ethnography and Early Travellers:

The region in which King William's Town is situated, originally formed part of a territory known as Kaffraria. This designation was first used by the Portuguese for the eastern parts of South Africa and literally means the land of the Kaffir. The latter term was an Arabic word from the twelfth century for "unbelievers".¹⁾ A clear distinction was made from at least the early nineteenth century between the terms "Kaffraria Proper" and "Kaffraria". The former comprised the area from the Kei River to the borders of Natal. The term "Kaffraria" usually referred to the territory between the Kei and Keiskamma Rivers. In 1847 these rivers formed the eastern and western boundaries of the separate province of British Kaffraria.

The earliest known inhabitants of the King William's Town region were a pre-Bushman race who lived here approximately 150 000 years ago. At the time of the commencement of the written history of South Africa in the fifteenth century, scattered groups of the Bushmen or San roamed about in Kaffraria. They found strategic habitats in mountainous areas such as the Amatola ranges and in fertile valleys near the Keiskamma, Kei and possibly also the Buffalo Rivers. The pressure of the Hottentots along the coastal plains, as well as the Xhosa and European pastoralists from the east and west precipitated the Bushmen's ultimate disappearance from Kaffraria. However, some of their physical features were transplanted on the Xhosa. The San's influence on the Xhosa language is also generally acknowledged.

Of the four main divisions of the Hottentots or Khoi, only the Eastern Hottentots need concern us here. They actually comprised the Inqua, Damaqua and Gonaqua, but most authorities group these pastoralists under the term Gonaqua. A long period of interaction between the Khoi and Xhosa, commencing possibly before 1450, is attested by linguistic evidence.²⁾ From the seventeenth century the Gonaqua were roaming the coastal regions and living inland along the Buffalo River.³⁾ The growing numbers of

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- 1) A. Du Toit: *The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866*, p.5.
 - 2) C. Saunders and R. Derricourt (eds.): *Beyond the Cape Town Frontier*, pp.48, 52.
 - 3) G. Thompson: *Travels and Adventures in South Africa*, 1, Appendix.

migrating Xhosa led to the disappearance of the Hottentots from the King William's Town region. Beutler (1752) found that they were inextricably mixed with the Xhosa, particularly by intermarrying with the Gqunukhwebes.⁴⁾ The Damaqua largely merged into the Xhosa tribe known as the Ama Ntinde. This was the tribe with whom the Reverend John Brownlee was to commence his missionary activities in 1826 on the site of the present King William's Town. The heritage that the Hottentots left to the Xhosa, include certain physical characteristics and many geographical names like "e Qonce" — the local Xhosa name for King William's Town.⁵⁾

On the evidence of reports and personal observations of the earliest Portuguese explorers and navigators it can be concluded that the Xhosa or Cape Nguni were already established in the Eastern Cape coastal regions during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁾ By then the name of Paramount Chief Xhosa (ca. 1500 - ca. 1550) had replaced that of Mnguni, his father. Before Xhosa's death the Xhosa and the Zulu were collectively known as the Nguni.⁷⁾ This term has fallen into disuse and for about four centuries the tribal appellation "Xhosa" has been in general use.⁸⁾

Evidence from survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" shows that the Xhosa were known to be in the neighbourhood of East London by 1686. According to their accounts Xhosa were then living on the Buffalo River.⁹⁾ However, the first substantial Xhosa migrations over the Kei took place shortly after 1700. From at least 1730 parties of European hunters travelled to the practically unknown eastern parts of South Africa, their principal object being bartering and acquiring ivory. One of these early expeditions was led by the hunter Hermanus Hubner, whose party was virtually wiped out by Xhosa in 1736.¹⁰⁾ According to the account of the two survivors, they probably crossed the Keiskamma River near the coast and the Chalumna River, encountering on their way the Ama Ntinde tribe.¹¹⁾ They

4) Saunders and Derricourt: Beyond the Cape Frontier, p.52.

5) C. Pettman: Hottentot Place Names, (South African Journal of Science, July 1921), p.41.

6) G. Theal: History of South Africa before 1795, 11, pp.316, 324.

7) Dictionary of South African Biography (D.S.A.B.) 11, p.865.

8) J. Soga: The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs, pp.6-7.

9) Saunders and Derricourt: Beyond the Cape Frontier, p.9.

10) D.S.A.B., 11, p.419.

11) J. Bullock: Peddie — Settlers' Outpost, p.2.

then proceeded to the drifts of the Buffalo River near the present King William's Town.

Ensign August Friedrich Beutler's report on his journey of 1752 proved too that the Xhosa then lived east of the Keiskamma River. In the vicinity of the Keiskamma River Beutler and his party of seventy-one encountered Bange, chief of the Ama Ntinde tribe, which was then regarded as a powerful tribe living over a wide area.¹²⁾ On 17 June 1752 the Beutler expedition camped on the east bank of the Buffalo River, probably about a mile or two below the present King William's Town. About a month later Beutler again passed the same vicinity on his return journey from the Kei River.¹³⁾

In the next few decades the Xhosa continued their southwestern expansion and settled as far west as the Fish River. In 1778 Governor Van Plettenberg reached a mutual agreement with the Xhosa chiefs by which the Fish River was recognised as the common boundary between the colonists and the Xhosa. Peace did not prevail for long and the First Frontier War followed in 1779. It was mainly the small Xhosa tribes such as the Ama Ntinde, Gwali, Dange and Mbalu who initially formed the vanguard during these wars. For the next hundred years hostilities between the colonists and Xhosa, both with their expansionist "cattle cultures", flared up continuously. The result was nine Frontier or Kaffir Wars. The last of these wars raged from 1877 to 1878 — a hundred years after the outbreak of the First Frontier War. Several of these wars had a direct bearing on the history of King William's Town.

Shortly after the First Frontier War, Jakob Van Reenen and his party in 1790 passed some distance from the present King William's Town on their way to look for survivors of the wreck of the "Grosvenor".¹⁴⁾ In 1797 John Barrow, private secretary of Lord Macartney, also travelled beyond the Keiskamma River. It is likely that he then visited Gaika(Ngqika) at

12) G. Theal: History and Ethnology Before 1795, p.150.

13) V. Forbes: Pioneer Travellers in South Africa, pp.16,19.

14) J. Van Reenen: A Journal of a Journey...in search of the Wreck of the Hon. the East Indian Company's Ship the Grosvenor(English translation by E. Riou), p.13.

the headwaters of the Ngqokweni River — about six miles from King William's Town.¹⁵⁾ The accounts of these and several lesser known travellers and officials provide invaluable contemporary data on the history and traditions of the early inhabitants of the King William's Town region. In specifically referring here to the Ama Ntinde tribe because of its relation to the origin and growth of King William's Town, it must be stressed that the various tribal groups of the Xhosa were a unity only in respect of a common origin and tribal sentiment, but not in the sense of control. Tribes like the Ama Ntinde had become practically independent politically in consequence of their long separation from the main divisions of the Xhosa. Culturally, however, all the tribes remained homogeneous.

The Ama Ntinde tribe's split from the original Xhosa branch occurred soon after the death of Paramount Chief Tshiwo in about 1702. This was when Gwali, a half-brother of Phalo, attempted during the latter's minority to usurp the chieftainship. Gwali was supported by his uncle Ntinde and by the Ama Gqunukhwebe tribe. A period of civil war followed during which Gwali and his allies were defeated and forced to flee south. They settled near the Fish River.¹⁶⁾ Thus Ntinde and Gwali became the progenitors of the Ama Ntinde and the Ama Gwali tribes. They were probably the first Xhosa tribes to reside west of the Kei River. In about 1720 Hleke, as the progenitor of the Ama Hleke tribe, also moved west towards the King William's Town region.

In about 1750 a serious rupture between Phalo's sons Rarabe and Gcaleka developed, after the latter son's revolt against Phalo. Rarabe supported his father and Gcaleka was defeated. Although victorious, Rarabe left with his followers to prevent further unrest and settled between the Keiskamma and Buffalo Rivers. One of Rarabe's kraals was at Izeli in the vicinity of the present King William's Town.¹⁷⁾ This conflict led to the schism of the Xhosa nucleus and the origin of two new independent tribal

15) Forbes: Pioneer Travellers in South Africa, p.133.

16) D.S.A.B., 111, p. 788; 11. p.281.

17) D.S.A.B., 11, p.570.

clusters, called the Ama Gcaleka and the Ama Rarabe. The latter group was later subdivided into the Ndlambes and Gaikas and became closely associated with the history of British Kaffraria and that of King William's Town in particular.

Relatively little additional information is available about the early history of the Ama Ntinde tribe, except that Chief Ntinde was succeeded by Ngethani.¹⁸⁾ He was in turn followed by Chief Bange, whom Beutler encountered in 1752. Bange was still chief of the Ama Ntindes when the First Frontier War broke out in 1779, but was soon afterwards succeeded by Cike. His successor was Chief Tzatzoe who was one of the Xhosa chiefs whom General J.W. Janssens met in 1803. It was probably under Chief Tzatzoe that the Ama Ntinde tribe finally settled in the immediate vicinity of the present King William's Town, after being gradually pushed eastwards in the conflicts with the colonists. It was here that Brownlee and Jan Tzatzoe, son of Tzatzoe the elder, commenced a mission station among the tribe in 1826.

b. The Founding of King William's Town:

As will be seen, the history of Brownlee's Station, known as the Buffalo Mission, was inextricably bound with that of King William's Town during its formative years. Until 1847 it was only during the short-lived existence of the Province of Queen Adelaide (1835-1836) that the town's and the Buffalo Mission's history were not synonymous.

It was in the course of the Sixth Frontier War that Sir Benjamin D'Urban proclaimed the territory between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers and between the coastline and the Amatola mountains as a separate British dependency on 10 May 1835. The Governor called the territory the Province of Queen Adelaide after the wife of King William IV.¹⁹⁾ On 22 May 1835 D'Urban established the military and administrative headquarters of the Province on the site of the abandoned Buffalo Mission.²⁰⁾ Two days later a General Notice stated:

18) W. Hammond-Tooke: The Tribes of King William's Town District, pp. 102-103.

19) J. Lehmann: Remember You Are an Englishman, p.174.

20) G. Smith (ed.): Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith, 11, p.60.

"Here, on the fertile banks of this clear, rapid, and beautiful stream, and upon ground admirably fitted by nature, for the purpose of a Provincial Town, the Commander-in-Chief has fixed the site of one, and named it, by a General Order of this day, 'King William's Town'. An entrenched Camp has been already marked out here, and is in good progress, to receive a strong central corps of occupation..."²¹⁾

The major element of these entrenchments consisted of a square redoubt (Fort Hill) which contained wattle-and-daub huts for about 400 men, a stone hospital and a prison.²²⁾ Although the War was still raging Governor D'Urban left King William's Town in June 1835, with Colonel Harry Smith remaining in command of the troops and in charge of the new Province's administrative affairs.²³⁾ The local military camp was guarded by sentries, but it did not stop the frequent attempts at cattle-lifting; once two Xhosa were shot while attempting to steal Smith's cows.

The Frontier War finally drew to a close in September 1835. Smith's first task was to locate the tribes in such parts of Adelaide as would enable them to be controlled and governed from his "Great Kraal" at King William's Town. Most of the Xhosa traditions and laws were retained.²⁴⁾

The first important meeting during Col. Smith's administration of the Province of Queen Adelaide took place on 17 November 1835 when three Xhosa chiefs were officially sworn in as "magistrates". The ceremony was held in a large room of Smith's residence and hundreds of Xhosa gathered around the house.²⁵⁾ For the formal introduction and inauguration of the new regime, Smith desired a much larger and more representative gathering which would be more in accordance with the importance of establishing British rule in a dependency. This important meeting took place in the capital on 7 January 1836 when over 3 000 Xhosa and 600 troops were present.²⁶⁾ Most of the chiefs attended. In his address Colonel Smith warned against practices such as witchcraft and then outlined the duties of the chiefs as magistrates. In the course of the meeting Smith formally appointed 28 Black field-cornets.

In the meantime an active opposition had built up in England against the new Province and its "adverse" effects on the Xhosa. Lord Glenelg, the British Colonial Secretary, was under the influence of the philanthropists

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- 21) R. Godlonton: A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes, 1834-1835, p.183.
 22) G. Cory: The Rise of South Africa, 111. p.184.
 23) J. Backhouse: Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa, p.237.
 24) Smith(ed.): Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith, 11, pp.65,73.
 25) Lehmann: Remember You Are an Englishman, p.187.
 26) W. Boyce: Notes on South African Affairs, pp. 34-35.

and in December 1835 demanded from D'Urban the Province's cancellation within twelve months. The land had to be returned simultaneously to the Xhosa chiefs.²⁷⁾ As an alternative policy, Glenelg introduced a system of treaties and appointed Andries Stockenström as Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern Province to implement it. Until Stockenström's arrival in September 1836, there was little change in the daily activities in King William's Town. Harry Smith received the Xhosa chiefs regularly and mingled freely with the Black population. His wife spent many hours talking to the chiefs' wives and teaching needlework.

Soon after the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor, a formal meeting of introduction was held in the capital on 13 September.²⁸⁾ On this occasion between 3 000 and 4 000 Xhosa listened to Smith's farewell address before he introduced Stockenström. In his speech the Lieutenant-Governor assured the Blacks that he would only have their interests at heart.²⁹⁾ The same afternoon hundreds of Xhosa surrounded the house and tents of the Smiths to bid them farewell. Ornaments were showered on this popular couple, who left King William's Town the next morning.³⁰⁾

The final steps in the retrocession of the Province of Queen Adelaide followed in December 1836. On the first day of that month Capt. Stockenström was met in the capital by a large number of Xhosa chiefs and their followers. He urged further meetings between the chiefs to settle their differences. A final meeting followed on 5 December. The Lieutenant-Governor then read a proclamation, providing for the Adelaide Province to be annexed again to the Cape Colony and renouncing the allegiance of the chiefs and tribes to the British Crown. A long treaty was also read to the crowd and translated by Theophilus Shepstone. The treaty was soon afterwards signed by the Gaikas, the Ndlambes and the Gqunukwebes. The removal of all the troops, as well as their ammunition and supplies followed soon afterwards.³¹⁾ King William's Town lost its status as capital too and for the next decade reverted to its position as a mission centre.

27) Cory: The Rise of South Africa, 111, pp.246, 281.

28) Lehmann: Remember You Are an Englishman, pp.189-190, 204.

29) Boyce: Notes on South African Affairs, pp.66-70.

30) Smith(ed.): Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith, 11, pp. 100-101.

31) Cory: The Rise of South Africa, 111, pp. 373-375, 383.

c. The First Years as British Kaffrarian Capital:

Soon after the outbreak of the Seventh Frontier War in 1846, the Rev. John Brownlee was forced to leave the Buffalo Mission and King William's Town once more became the military headquarters of the Frontier. Towards the end of this War Sir Harry Smith was appointed Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa. He eventually reached King William's Town on 23 December 1847. The place then consisted mainly of Fort Hill, the ruins of Brownlee's Station, some Xhosa huts and military tents.³²⁾

Smith addressed the assembled Xhosa chiefs on the same day in his usual theatrical manner. After his speech he required the chiefs to touch a "staff of peace" and ultimately to kiss his feet as a token of submission.³³⁾ In their presence the High Commissioner proclaimed the territory between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers a distinct dependency of the Crown. This province was called British Kaffraria and King William's Town was designated its capital. It was ironical that it was Smith's task to re-establish D'Urban's earlier native policy in an almost identical "foreign" territory over which he himself had ruled earlier for eighteen months. King William's Town was also in the unique position of being formally raised for the second time within one decade to the status of a capital of a British dependency.

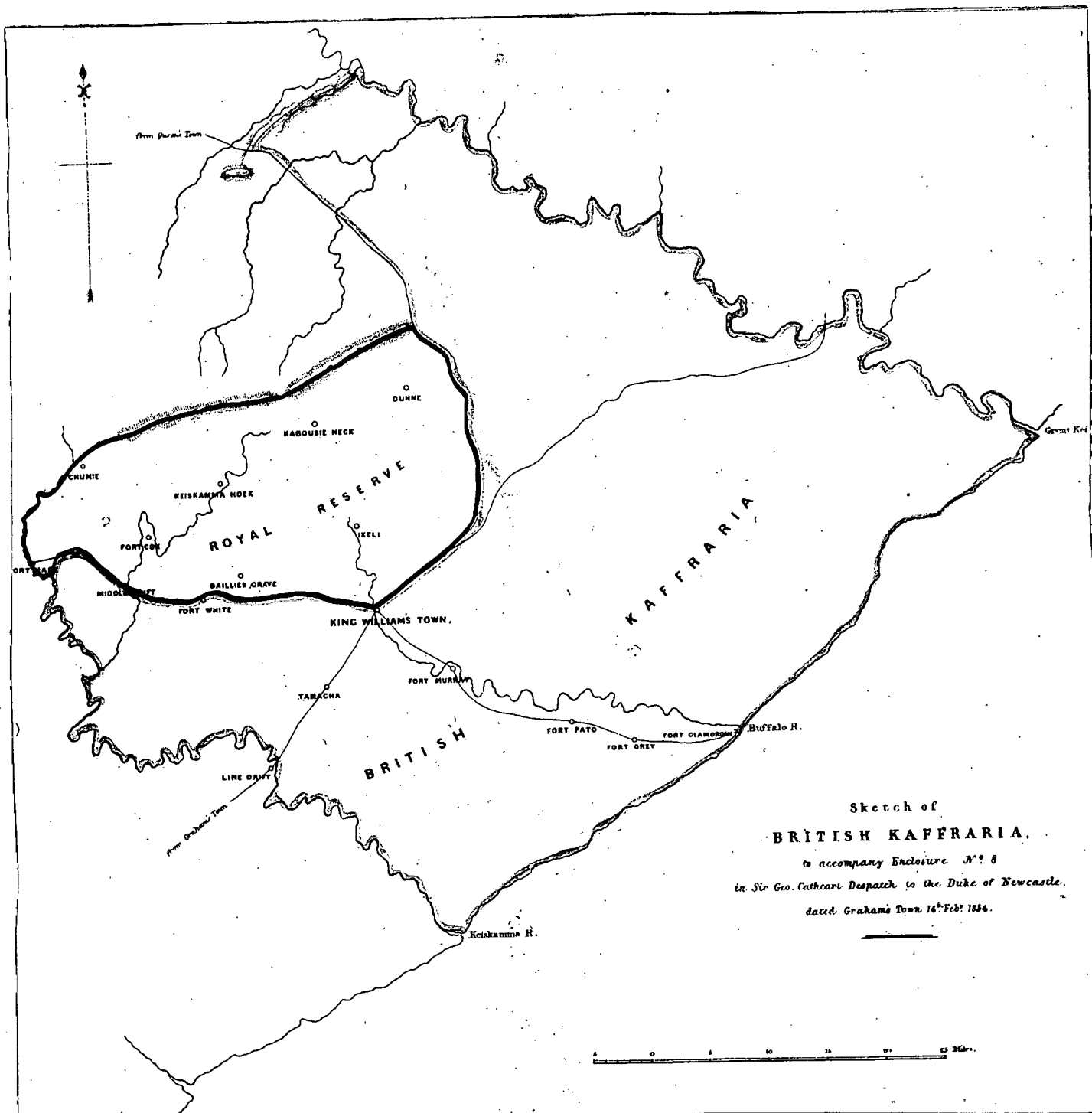
Smith immediately instructed Col. George Mackinnon, the newly appointed Chief Commissioner and Commandant of the Province, to see to it that the Kaffrarian capital "... be laid out in Squares and Streets, on both sides of the Buffalo, occupying Forts Hill and Hardinge ... and reserving sites for a Church, a Mission Station, Schools & ^o"³⁴⁾ Smith further approved the erection of several large military buildings on the site of the Buffalo Mission, as well as repairs to Fort Hill. The Royal Engineers were immediately engaged too in mapping out subdivisions for the occupation of the different tribes. These administrative districts bore the names of English counties.

On 7 January 1848 another meeting for the chiefs and their followers was convened in King William's Town. This meeting was on a much more elaborate scale than the one of two weeks earlier; its main purpose was to explain the

32) Cory: The Rise of South Africa, V, pp. 103-104.

33) Theal: History of South Africa Since 1795, VII, p.58.

34) GH 28/41: General Order 124, 24.12.1847.



British Kaffraria, 1854. (OPB 1/14, Cape Archives).

new arrangements to the Xhosa chiefs. Chief Tzatzoe was among those present. In his address Sir Harry Smith stressed the loss of the Xhosa's political independence as he was once again their "Inkosi Inkulu" (Great Chief). He then made the chiefs swear that they would obey his eleven commands, which he spelt out to them. The last of these was their injunction to take a fat ox to the capital on each anniversary of that memorable day. A thrilling effect was finally achieved when an empty ox-wagon was blown into the air with gunpowder — to show the chiefs and their followers what would happen to them if they disobeyed his commands. The High Commissioner finally tore a sheet of paper to symbolise the annihilation of all treaties.³⁵⁾

Smith soon afterwards departed from King William's Town and left British Kaffraria's administration in the hands of Mackinnon. He was instructed to rule "through the medium and instrumentality of the chiefs" and was assisted in this task by three commissioners who acted as magistrates for the Xhosa chiefs and their respective tribes. Otherwise British Kaffraria was ruled by martial law. A large "Kaffir Police" force helped to maintain law and order.³⁶⁾

Smith's next visit to King William's Town was in October 1848, following his victory at the Battle of Boomplaats. A large meeting of chiefs and their followers was held on 7 October. Smith made one of his characteristic speeches, whereafter the Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, addressed the gathering.³⁷⁾

Colonel Mackinnon himself made it a habit to hold annual meetings (as near as possible to 7 January) in town with the chiefs. On these occasions presents such as ploughs and clothes were distributed to those meriting it and words of warning directed against the evil-doers.

The general unrest on the Frontier towards the end of 1850 forced the High Commissioner to proceed to King William's Town. On his arrival he immediately summoned the Ndlambe and Gqunukhwebe chiefs to attend a meeting on 26 October.

35) Cory: The Rise of South Africa, V, pp. 106-107, 109-110.

36) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp. 30-31.

37) Cory: The Rise of South Africa, V, p.168.

At this meeting Smith warned the chiefs and their hundreds of followers of the disastrous consequences of listening to the witch-doctor Umlanjeni who was fomenting rebellion.³⁸⁾ A few days later he deposed Sandile for not attending the meeting and appointed Charles Brownlee in his stead.³⁹⁾ Smith then returned to Cape Town, but the deteriorating position on the Border necessitated his presence once more. On 14 December he held another meeting with the Ndlambe chiefs in King William's Town and left a few days later to meet the Gaika chiefs at Fort Cox. On 24 December the Eighth Frontier War finally broke out and the High Commissioner virtually became a prisoner at Fort Cox.⁴⁰⁾ A week later he escaped and, accompanied by about 250 men of the Cape Mounted Rifles, reached the Kaffrarian capital safely.

King William's Town again became the military headquarters and Smith remained there for large parts of the War. From there he could control the general movement of troops and supervise the civil administration.⁴¹⁾ Military escorts for supplies from the capital sometimes exceeded 2 000 men and on one occasion the troops returned with about 30 000 Xhosa cattle. The War dragged on too long in the eyes of the Colonial Office and Smith was recalled early in 1852. He was succeeded as Governor and High Commissioner by Sir George Cathcart. The two men met in King William's Town on 9 April and Smith spent the following day briefing Cathcart before his own departure.⁴²⁾ Cathcart made Fort Beaufort his military headquarters.

During this War the Kaffrarian capital continued to be in a comparative state of tranquillity; neither the authorities nor the inhabitants were under any serious apprehension of immediate attacks.⁴³⁾ More than 3 000 Xhosa Christians found a safe refuge at the Buffalo Mission on the town's outskirts and many of Tzatzoe's followers declined to take part in the War. Despite the war conditions, King William's Town also continued its growth into a place of commercial importance.

Between his military activities during the War, Colonel Mackinnon devoted a considerable part of his time to the administration of British Kaffraria

38) J. Du Plessis: *Christian Mission in South Africa*, p.187.

39) Cory: *The Rise of South Africa*, V, p.300.

40) Du Toit: *The Cape Frontier*, p.59.

41) Smith (ed.): *Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith*, II, p.406.

42) Cory: *The Rise of South Africa*, pp.366-367, 436, 438, 446.

43) R. Godlonton and E. Irving: *Narrative of the Kaffir War*, p.67.

from the capital. Among other measures, he adopted civilian regulations for King William's Town which he revised annually. An important step taken by Cathcart in the heat of the war, was the creation of the Kaffrarian Board in May 1852 for the improvement of local conditions and facilities.⁴⁴⁾ Mackinnon was succeeded as Chief Commissioner in September 1852 by John Maclean.

After the conclusion of peace in March 1853, King William's Town experienced a period of unprecedented expansion and economic prosperity, to which the local Xhosa population made a substantial contribution. It was also an era of social change for the Blacks living around the capital. Cathcart's administrative measures did not materially affect their position. However, after the arrival of Sir George Grey in December 1854 the everyday life of the Xhosa in and around King William's Town changed fundamentally at all levels.

44) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.80.

CHAPTER I

MISSION ACTIVITY : SPIRITUAL AND SECULAR

a. Propagation of Christianity in the Early Nineteenth Century:

One of the most important influences in Kaffraria throughout the nineteenth century was that of the missionaries. Apart from religion, their civilizing influence at educational, social, economic and cultural levels was remarkable. This was particularly true of the missionaries associated with King William's Town's early history.

The first missionary to work among the Xhosa was Dr. J. T. Van der Kemp. In 1799 he established a mission station among the Gaika, but left after a year to found the Bethelsdorp Mission.¹⁾ The next missionary was Joseph Williams who established the Kat River Station near Fort Beaufort in 1816.²⁾ It was in the same vicinity at Tyumie that the Rev. John Brownlee in 1820 started his missionary career of almost fifty years among the Xhosa.³⁾

After only a few years at Tyumie, Brownlee left to found the London Missionary Society's Buffalo Mission on the eastern bank of the Buffalo River. From his arrival on 20 January 1826 until his death on 24 December 1871 he worked there practically all his life.⁴⁾ Brownlee was the first missionary to remain in Kaffraria for any length of time. Hence, he was soon acknowledged as the "Father of Kaffir Missions", as well as the first European settler and founder of King William's Town.⁵⁾ Until about 1850 Brownlee was almost solely responsible for the religious and educational upliftment of the Xhosa around the town.

Brownlee arrived in South Africa in January 1817.⁶⁾ Soon after his arrival John met Catharina De Jager in the Swellendam District. They eventually married on 4 April 1818.⁷⁾ It was in the company of his pious wife and Jan Tzatzoe that

1) D.S.A.B., II, p. 775.

2) J. Du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, p. 247; D.S.A.B., II, p. 848.

3) B. Holt: Greatheart of the Border, pp. 18, 22.

4) Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p. 22; Kaffrarian Watchman, 27.12.1871.

5) Document 2121, Cory Library: Illuminated Address presented to Brownlee during Golden Jubilee Celebrations of his arrival, 1867; Kaffrarian Watchman, 27.12.1871.

6) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p. 7.

7) Brownlee Centenary 1826 - 1926 (Brochure, n.a.), p. 1; Bergh: Charles Brownlee, pp. 4, 7.

Brownlee settled in 1826 among the Ama Ntinde tribe on the site of the future King William's Town.

This pioneer missionary regarded the Xhosa country as an important mission field and soon appealed for more assistants. The London Missionary Society reacted positively and the Brownlees were joined in September 1827 by Frederick Kayser and his wife. By then Brownlee could report considerable progress at the Buffalo Mission. About 30 Xhosa attended daily worship, with about 60 persons present at the Sunday services. A place of worship and temporary buildings for their own accommodation had been erected. Work had begun too on cutting a canal from the Buffalo River for the irrigation of mission lands for cultivation.⁸⁾ The author John Moodie visited this project shortly afterwards and recorded that after "... meeting with rocks in the course of the trench, they (the missionaries) were obliged to desist from their undertaking for the present."⁹⁾ Brownlee and Kayser often visited the surrounding kraals and worked in their spare time on the Xhosa translation of the New Testament.¹⁰⁾

A noteworthy occasion for the Buffalo Mission was a meeting of missionaries of the London, Glasgow and Methodist Societies in 1830. They then decided to combine their efforts in the translation of the Bible into Xhosa, to fix rules for written Xhosa, to collect the Bible books which various missionaries had already translated and to approach the British and Foreign Bible Society for assistance in the printing of the New Testament. This meeting was one of the most important milestones in the translation and printing of the Xhosa Bible.¹¹⁾

The outward progress of Brownlee's Mission during the first years of its existence is shown in a drawing by Kayser which originally appeared in 1832 in the Leipzig Society's annual report. This sketch shows a wattle - and - daub construction which was referred to as the old-church. The so-called new church (1832) was built of stone, but not yet thatched. Kayser's drawing also indicates Brownlee's mission house(1830 - 1831),¹²⁾ Kayser's dwelling, a store-room

8) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, pp. 69 - 72.

9) J. Moodie : Ten Years in South Africa, II, p. 267.

10) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p. 83.

11) R. Shepherd: The Translation of the Xhosa Bible (Coelacanth, April 1970), p. 11.

12) Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p. 41.

and a Xhosa teacher's dwelling, as well as the cattle kraals and bee-hive huts of the Xhosa living at the institution. According to the sketch a large part of the Mission was taken up by lands (mostly planted with maize), gardens and an orchard.¹³⁾

At the end of 1833 the Kayzers left the Society's Station on the Buffalo River to establish a new mission among Macomo's people.¹⁴⁾ The Brownlees were therefore the only missionaries at the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War in December 1835, although they were by then joined by about a dozen traders. Xhosa from other mission stations took refuge at this Mission too. After Jan Tzatzoe had fled to safety Brownlee's stock were all stolen, including between 300 and 400 sheep and goats, about 20 horses and 60 to 70 head of cattle. The Brownlees and Kirkmans (the only remaining trader family) withstood several onslaughts from marauding parties. Realising their hopeless position, they fled one night in February 1835. The next morning they looked back to the sight of smoke rising from the Buffalo Mission. The enemy had already set the buildings on fire.¹⁵⁾ The Brownlees eventually found a safe refuge in the Cape Colony.

In Brownlee's absence, his mission site became the capital of the newly established Province of Queen Adelaide and was named King William's Town in May 1835.¹⁶⁾ Col. Harry Smith who was put in charge of the new territory, took possession of the remains of Brownlee's former house after repairing and adding to it.¹⁷⁾ Smith was impressed with Brownlee's large garden which had a variety of fruit trees and some vines.¹⁸⁾ With the retrocession of this Province late in 1836, the military buildings were vacated. When Brownlee returned to resume his mission work in about January 1837, he acquired this reconstructed house and several other military structures at a nominal fee.¹⁹⁾ The missionary used the former hospital as a temporary church and as a school.²⁰⁾

This church soon became too small and in 1838 a new chapel was commenced which

13) Holt: *Greatheart of the Border*, opposite p. 71.

14) E. N. Sparks: *The Kayser Missionaries and their Descendants*, p. 4.

15) C Brownlee: *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History*, pp. 25 - 41; Bergh: *Charles Brownlee*, p. 105.

16) See Introduction.

17) J. Backhouse: *Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa*, p. 237.

18) G. Smith (ed.): *Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith*, II, pp. 372, 374.

19) F. Mc Callum: *Buluneli*, p. 75; Bergh: *Charles Brownlee*, p. 105.

20) Holt: *Greatheart of the Border*, pp. 94 - 95.

could seat 400 persons.²¹⁾ There were then also Hottentots on the Station and some of the services were held in Dutch. Some Fingo who were brought down from Kaffraria Proper by the British forces in 1835, joined Brownlee's institution in increasing numbers.

In February 1839 James Backhouse and George Walker visited the Mission at King William's Town. Backhouse was a Quaker minister and missionary, as well as an accomplished author and amateur botanist. He afterwards wrote that several devotional services were held and on one occasion 200 Xhosa attended. Tzatzoe interpreted and, according to the missionary traveller, held religious services at nearby kraals. During their stay the two Quakers visited Brownlee's canal project which had been resumed in 1838. Backhouse mentioned that it was necessary to break large basalt rocks to clear the way; it was broken up by making fires around the stones and then pouring cold water on them.²²⁾ At the completion of the irrigation canal in 1840, it was more than three miles long.²³⁾

Years of constructive progress at the Buffalo Mission followed. From 1840 Brownlee held three-monthly meetings with three other missionaries, to whom he had each supplied a reliable Xhosa missionary agent. Tzatzoe was then still the local agent.²⁴⁾ These years of peaceful reconstruction were ended early in 1846 with the outbreak of the Seventh Frontier War. In March the Brownlees were again forced to leave King William's Town and the mission house and other buildings were destroyed.²⁵⁾

History repeated itself with King William's Town once more becoming the capital of a separate dependency (British Kaffraria) in 1847 and with the military again occupying Brownlee's Station. The authorities found it necessary to break down the walls of the mission house which had twice been exposed to fire.²⁶⁾ On its foundations the so-called Government House was built. The mission gardens and lands became part of the Military Reserve. The canal was also adapted and im-

21) Mc Callum: Buluneli, p. 76.

22) Backhouse: Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa, pp. 236 - 240.

23) BK 371: Letter 38, Mackinnon - High Commissioner (H. Smith), 2.7.1848.

24) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, pp. 105, 113.

25) J. Frye (ed.): The War of the Axe and the Xhosa Bible, p. 40.

26) Brownlee: Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History, p. 3.

proved to supply the emergent town with water.²⁷⁾ The early history of King William's Town and that of the Xhosa around the town was therefore inextricably bound up with the establishment and growth of the London Missionary Society's Station there.

b. Re-establishment of the Buffalo Mission:

When the Brownlees returned to King William's Town early in 1848 they were disappointed to see that their original mission site had been appropriated by the Government without any compensation.²⁸⁾ However, they had no alternative but to develop a completely new site. The missionary obtained ground for this purpose on the Kaffrarian capital's northern outskirts, with a small ravine forming the boundary between the London Missionary Society's lands and the military property.²⁹⁾ There Brownlee set to work philosophically to build a new chapel and other facilities, including a new mission house. An enthusiastic gardener, he laid out a new garden too. The church was a wattle - and - daub structure with slabs for seats.³⁰⁾ Brownlee soon started leading out the water of a small branch of the Buffalo River.³¹⁾

The new administration in King William's Town brought added responsibilities to the Rev. Brownlee. To legalize marriages and without obliging persons to go to the Colony for that purpose, it was decided in 1848 to appoint him and several other persons as marriage ministers for British Kaffraria.³²⁾ Brownlee co-operated too with the Government's scheme for the promotion of agriculture among the Xhosa - early in 1849 he received for the use of the Xhosa on his mission a variety of items including a plough, six sickles, five hand saws, five adzes, two sledge hammers, two crowbars and five bags of nails.³³⁾ Another project in which the missionary assisted was the distribution of articles (particularly clothing) to deserving Xhosa adults and school children. One of the Government's aims with this scheme was to increase the positive in-

27) BK 373: Letter 20, Maclean - Grey, 29.7.1861, pp. 383 - 385.

28) Kaffrarian Watchman, 27.12.1871; Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p. 123.

29) BK 51: Wanckel - Brownlow, 18.3.1863.

30) ZL 1/3/24: H. Kayser - A. Tidman, 10.5.1860.

31) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p.123.

32) BK 371: Mackinnon - High Commissioner (H. Smith), 20.7.1848, p. 54;

BK 403: Mackinnon certifying Brownlee's appointment, 24.11.1848, p. 304.

33) BK 403: Maclean - Charles Brownlee, 8.3.1849, p. 394.

fluence of the missionaries.³⁴⁾

With a number of conversions and a gradual increase of religious feeling among the Xhosa by 1850, everything looked more hopeful than at any previous period. This peaceful state was interrupted in December by the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War. Although the Brownlees did not have to flee this time because of the presence of several regiments in King William's Town, many of the Xhosa's huts and houses were burnt down. However, the bee-hive huts were easy to construct and a large Xhosa settlement arose when hundreds of Blacks came to find temporary shelter at the Mission.³⁵⁾ Many of Tzatzoe's followers remained faithful on the institution. Charles Brownlee, son of the missionary, later estimated that there were about 3 000 Xhosa on the Mission during the War:

"These people were encamped at Brownlee's Station from January 1851 to April 1853... No individual of the 3,000 was ever brought before the Magistrate for even the most trivial offence. This was the result of missionary teaching and missionary influence pure and simple." ³⁶⁾

During the War a son of the Brownlees, James, was killed and Charles Brownlee seriously wounded. The ageing missionary continued his work bravely and was pleased that there were enough work opportunities for his people in King William's Town. The Xhosa on the Station were then starting to build larger huts and acquire some furniture.³⁷⁾

Among John Brownlee's many problems was that of insufficient funds. In October 1853 a bazaar was held in aid of the London Missionary Society. These bazaars became an almost annual event.³⁸⁾ Another problem was the lack of sanitary facilities and general unhygienic conditions on the Station.³⁹⁾ The cattle kraal was near the aqueduct and it was feared that the dirt would run into the canal with the first proper rains "... and supply the Town with some months accumulation of Kaffir filth." ⁴⁰⁾ There were regular complaints during the 1850s about

34) BK 405: Circular, Mackinnon - Missionaries, 9.4.1850, pp. 51-52.

35) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, pp. 124 - 126.

36) Brownlee: Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History, p. 353.

37) Mc Callum : Buluneli, pp. 101 - 103.

38) G. Journal, 22.10.1853, 8.12.1855.

39) J. Bateman: A Century of Public Service, 1861 - 1961, pp.35, 49.

40) G. Journal, 10.9.1853 (Letter form "A.Z." dated 3 September 1853).

this position. At the end of 1854 the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society also informed Brownlee that there was doubt as to whether the maintenance of an effective mission at King William's Town justified the expenditure. There was reason to suppose that the number of Xhosa under the missionary's immediate influence was relatively small and Brownlee's candid opinion was sought about maintaining the Station on its existing footing.⁴¹⁾ It was eventually decided not to abandon the Buffalo Mission.

In 1855 Brownlee saw further signs of progress at his institution. The religious services were well attended and he reported on the good conduct of the newly admitted members as well as the older ones. Despite a partial failure of the crops and the loss of many cattle as a result of the lung-sickness, the congregation gave liberally to the support of the Mission.⁴²⁾ There was then a population of 406 Xhosa and 599 Fingo at the central Station and at the outstations under the missionary's jurisdiction. They had 8 houses in the European style, 25 wagons, 24 ploughs and 56 fire-arms among them. Most of the "European" houses were in King William's Town. Brownlee mentioned that the number of ploughs would have been more, as he was asked by Fingo to buy six additional ones but could not find the right kind locally. He did not include Chief Tzatzoe's wagon and plough which he had "... long before the Mission was commenced."⁴³⁾

During 1856 the authorities at last decided that the appropriation of the Buffalo Mission's property in 1847 called for some kind of compensation. It was then agreed to grant a piece of freehold land to Brownlee in recognition of his services as the first missionary in King William's Town, as well as "... in leading out a Watercourse, in constructing a garden and in introducing many useful plants & trees into the country and as compensation for the Government taking possession of the garden and land on which he has bestowed such care & industry."⁴⁴⁾ Maclean instructed the Surveyor-General on 1 July to prepare such a grant which had to include his mission house and as much surrounding ground as was deemed

41) ZL 1/10/4: Foreign Secretary, London Missionary Society (A. Tidman) - Brownlee, 20.11.1854.

42) ZL 1/10/4: Tidman - Brownlee, 7.10.1856, acknowledging Brownlee's report for 1855.

43) BK 90: Population Returns with remarks by Brownlee, 4.2.1855.

44) BK 5: Memorandum by J. Bryant (Surveyor-General), 24.7.1861.

necessary. However, in the preparation of the diagram the boundaries of the provisional grant which was issued in 1849 had to be borne in mind.⁴⁵⁾ This special grant to Brownlee was signed by Grey and Maclean on 13 July. It measured five acres and was bounded on the south-eastern and north-western sides by the mission lands.⁴⁶⁾

In October 1856 the Rev. John Brownlee became the first person to apply for the erection of a water-mill at the Kaffrarian capital. In a subsequent letter to Grey, Maclean reported that the proposed spot for this mill had already been examined; it was on the left bank of the Buffalo River, immediately below the mission house. The High Commissioner did not comment on the application and the mill was not erected.⁴⁷⁾

According to Brownlee's annual report to the London Missionary Society for 1856, 22 persons received church membership, which brought the total to about 150. Several of the new members were children of church members. Religious meetings were well attended, except in stormy weather, when the river was in spate. Worship was regularly kept up at four Xhosa villages and on most Sundays some of the men on the Station went out to the different localities to give religious instruction. Although there was no decided case of conversion as a result of these visits, there was a general desire to hear the Gospel. On the whole, the Xhosa were quiet and orderly, with only a few requiring church discipline or suspension from church fellowship. The harvests were not good, but the prices were fortunately high and there was no want of the necessities of life. There was even an increase during the year in church contributions.⁴⁸⁾

The statistical returns for 1856 show that there were altogether 1 240 Xhosa under Brownlee's supervision at King William's Town and the four outstations. The number of European-styled houses had increased to 12, the wagons to 32 and the ploughs to 32. There were also 1 035 horned cattle, 383 goats and 49

45) BK 17: Maclean - G. Montagu (Surveyor-General), 1.7.1856.

46) Deeds Office, King William's Town: Freehold Grant to J. Brownlee, 13.7.1856.

47) BK 377: Schedule 363, Maclean - Grey, 15.12.1856.

48) ZL 1/3/23: Brownlee - London Missionary Society, 15.1.1857.

horses. There were then 50 men who could plough, sow and reap, but the results were still disappointing — only 4 men had cultivated corn the previous year and had realised 50 muids.⁴⁹⁾

During 1857 the effects of the cattle-killing catastrophe was felt at the Buffalo Mission. In the missionary's annual report for that year he mentioned that it was a time of famine prices. Many losses were experienced with the plundering of cattle, horses, goats and poultry, as well as gardens. Brownlee stated that the severest duty which fell heavily on most of his people was the relief of their famine-stricken friends and family who looked "... for Months more like living Skeletons ...". They were supplied with food from the gardens and those Xhosa who had wagons were able to buy food at some distance. On the whole the sufferings of those connected with the Station at King William's Town were small compared to other mission stations. Two of the Mission's four outstations were severely affected by destitution, but many of the Xhosa were able to find jobs on public works and in the Kaffrarian capital.

Brownlee could further report that in 1857 the Sunday services, the daily morning services and the regular evening services were all well attended. The religious instruction in the mornings were particularly popular among the Xhosa who could not read. The population of those living on the Buffalo Mission was 49 men, 50 women and 95 children. The average number of the whole congregation was 250, with 171 Black church members. The Xhosa at King William's Town and at the outstations were generally hard-working and honest; Brownlee reported that out of a population of 1 200, there was not a single case which required the interference of the authorities. There were no complaints either about those employed by the military and civilians in town. His people had a wide moral influence and their conduct was in contrast to "... the common pilfering habits of the Kaffirs."⁵⁰⁾

Early in 1859 Brownlee reported on further progress to Col. Maclean. He stated that a large proportion of the people under his jurisdiction were living in different localities near King William's Town. Most of the Fingo had been removed

49) BK 90: Return of the Native Population under the Supervision of the London Society Mission, King William's Town, 12.7.1856.

50) ZL 1/3/23: Brownlee - Tidman, 5.1.1858.

the previous season to the vicinities of Frankfort, Keiskamma Hoek and Butterworth.⁵¹⁾ The religious and educational progress of the people were satisfactory. Those Blacks under Brownlee's charge at the Kaffrarian capital were mostly employed as day labourers, with a number of females finding employment as washerwomen. Brownlee was particularly pleased with the general desire among the Xhosa to purchase land, which Sir George Grey had made possible:

"We can expect little advance in civilization or improvement in cultivating the ground if the People have no right to the soil."⁵²⁾

Amidst the growing population at the Buffalo Mission and the outstations, the Rev. Henry Kayser and his family joined the Brownlees in 1859. Kayser was originally born on the Station when his father was assisting Brownlee.⁵³⁾

With the existing wattle - and - daub chapel becoming too small and fast decaying, the missionaries decided to erect a larger building. In May 1860 Kayser reported to the Missionary Society that the new T - shaped church, with seating for 600 people, was nearing completion. The congregation had aided in its erection by felling and bringing to the spot large quantities of timber for the roof. They were then active in cutting and bringing thatch for roofing the chapel at their own expense. There was not enough money to complete the building and Kayser asked the Society to make a grant of £75, saying that "... the cause for which I plead recommends itself."⁵⁴⁾

In this letter Kayser also outlined the general progress on the Brownlee Mission during 1859. The people had the best harvest in ten years. Besides preaching to the local Xhosa and Hottentots in aiding the elderly Brownlee, Kayser visited four outstations weekly, two fortnightly and one monthly. From five of these outstations people came in to King William's Town on Sundays for worship. At Tzatzoe's request, Kayser intended opening another station in his location. The number of church members (including a limited number of Hottentots) then stood at about 220.⁵⁵⁾

51) The Fingo who were settled near Butterworth came under the jurisdiction of the Special Magistrate for the Transkeian Territory.

52) BK 91: Brownlee - Maclean, 25.4.1859.

53) Sparks: The Kayser Missionaries and their Descendants, p. 14.

54) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.5.1860.

55) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.5.1860.

Shortly afterwards Henry Kayser assembled the Xhosa at the different outstations and appealed to them for additional financial aid for the new church. They came forward readily and gave about £120 in cash and in kind. The Board of the London Mission Society donated £50,⁵⁶⁾ which arrived a day before the opening of the chapel. Because of the " ... unexpected liberality of the people ... (who) have been impoverished to a most painful extent ..." by the lung-sickness and cattle-killing episode, the building could be paid for without using any of the Society's grant. The final cost of the building was £402 - 2 - 6. An amount of £412 - 17 - $\frac{1}{2}$ was received in donations, excluding the Board's contribution. The Brownlees gave £40.⁵⁷⁾ More than half the sum was raised by the congregation and other Black Christians:

The inauguration of the new church took place on 21 October 1860.⁵⁸⁾ Despite the unfavourable weather the chapel was filled at all four services. The ministers who officiated were Kayser's father, the Revd. B. Ross and the Revd. J. Read. The building had no ceiling and Kayser thought that a part of the Society's grant could be appropriated for this purpose. The floor was boarded with plank, the floor area being 282 square yards in extent.⁵⁹⁾ The structure was impressive by contemporary standards:

"It will seat upwards of 700 people, and there are 200 church members, and 150 catechumens in connection with it, including those who reside on the outstations. The chapel is built in the form of the letter T, and is 72 feet long in front, 42 feet in depth, and 23 feet wide."⁶⁰⁾

The opening of the church was followed on 22 October by a public missionary meeting where Brownlee presided. There were two sessions and the chapel was well filled by Blacks and missionaries. The meeting in the evening was particularly well attended by Xhosa who were given the opportunity to express themselves freely. Amounts of £10 in aid of the London Missionary Society's friends were collected at each of these sessions.⁶¹⁾

56) ZL 1/10/5: Tidman - Kayser, 5.9.1860.

57) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860.

58) K. Gazette, 19.11.1860 (Notice).

59) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860; K. Gazette, 30.11.1860, citing a special report on the opening of the chapel in the Christian Watchman's issue of December 1860.

60) K. Gazette, 30.11.1860, citing the Christian Watchman.

61) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860; K. Gazette, 30.11.1860, citing the Christian Watchman.

Kayser's mission house was completed almost simultaneously. The building cost upwards of £250, of which the Missionary Society did eventually contribute £200.⁶²⁾

In November 1860 Kayser submitted a full report to the Society about the chapel's inauguration and the general progress of the Buffalo Mission. He said the position at the main Station and at the outstations was improving daily — "Never have the Natives been so willing to listen the Gospel ..." Five Sunday services were held in King William's Town, of which Brownlee was still responsible for two. Owing to his age and increasing weakness, Brownlee did not often itinerate or visit the outstations. In this letter Kayser ordered a large bell and a communion service for the church in the Kaffrarian capital and a small bell for each of the outstations. Kayser further requested the Society to use any balance from their grant of £50 for the erection of small chapels which he intended to build at some of the outstations.⁶³⁾ These requests were later acceded to.⁶⁴⁾

The Rev. Henry Kayser was very keen on expanding the system of outstations and by the end of 1860 their number had already increased to seven. These stations were situated between two miles and twenty miles from King William's Town and on three of them church members had bought ground.⁶⁵⁾ Some of the outstations' inhabitants settled there from Kaffraria Proper and elsewhere during the cattle-killing catastrophe.⁶⁶⁾ The Xhosa from four of these institutions attended the central Sunday services in the new chapel. Kayser visited the stations and ten other nearby villages as regularly as possible. Between 50 and 100 Xhosa attended the services in the countryside, which were still held in the open air or in huts. Xhosa missionary agents, deacons and teachers assisted in spreading the Gospel at these outstations.⁶⁷⁾

The official returns for 1860 show that the congregation at King William's Town was still largely impoverished as a result of the lung-sickness and the cattle-killing episode. At the end of that year there were 149 adults and 122 children

62) BK 92: Memorial, Kayser - Grey, ca. February 1861 (n.d.); ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860.

63) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860.

64) ZL 1/10/5: Tidman - Kayser, 5.2.1861.

65) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860.

66) BK 92: Brownlee and Kayser - Brownlow, 18.10.1861.

67) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860.

living on the Buffalo Mission in 51 huts or houses. Among them they only had 27 cattle, 60 goats, 8 sheep and 6 horses. There were also 2 wagons, 1 plough and 4 guns. This institution was then one of fifteen mission stations in British Kaffraria.⁶⁸⁾

Early in 1861 Kayser applied on behalf of the Buffalo Mission for about eight additional acres of ground adjoining the chapel. It was on the same site where the large numbers of Xhosa had congregated during the Eighth Frontier War. The land had been occupied since the War by Xhosa from the Station, but it was never officially granted for missionary purposes. Kayser mentioned that the land adjoined the area already granted to the London Missionary Society and " ... on it about a dozen square cottages besides a large number of other houses & huts have been built."⁶⁹⁾

Bryant, the acting Surveyor-General, reported in February 1861 that thirteen acres of land had previously been made available to the Buffalo Mission, although a Title Deed had not yet been issued. The eight additional acres were available. Grey subsequently approved the use by the Blacks of this piece of ground " ... as a reserve for a village but no title to be given."⁷⁰⁾

The expansion continued and later in 1861 the two missionaries were looking for a more central site in King William's Town for the erection of another chapel which could serve as a school too.⁷¹⁾ The number of outstations had increased to ten.⁷²⁾ Brownlee was seventy at the time of Grey's departure in August 1861 and could look back over more than forty years in the mission field among the Xhosa. He must have been gratified by what had been achieved at the Buffalo Mission and by the meteoric rise of King William's Town. His Station was still the most important missionary institution in the Kaffrarian capital. John Brownlee died in his mission house on 24 December 1871, only months after his wife's death. Kayser continued his labours at the Buffalo Mission until the end of 1865.⁷³⁾

68) BK 91: Return Showing Native Population, etc. at the Several Mission Stations in British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860.

69) BK 92: Memorial, Kayser - Grey, ca. February 1861 (n.d.).

70) BK 92: Memorial, Kayser - Grey, ca. February 1861 (n.d.), with Bryant's comments dated 7 February 1861 and Maclean's undated instructions.

71) BK 92: Kayser - Brownlow, 21.10.1861, enclosing memorial to Maclean dated 21 October 1861.

72) ZL 1/3/25: Kayser - Tidman, 17.3.1862.

73) Kaffrarian Watchman, 27.12.1871; Mc Callum: Buluneli, p. 112.

c. Wesleyan Missionary Activities:

The only other noteworthy missionary activities in King William's Town during its pioneer years were undertaken by the Wesleyan Church. Their first local services were commenced in about 1847 in a small wattle - and - daub structure situated in Berkeley Street. Missionaries came initially from Mount Coke for this purpose — until the arrival of the Rev. F. Gladwin when the mission station at Butterworth was burnt down. The wattle - and - daub chapel was soon too small and in 1849 a larger one was erected at No. 1, D' Urban Street which later formed part of Smith Street.⁷⁴⁾ The original building then apparently became a school. No provision was made at first for providing religious facilities in King William's Town for the Xhosa, but the wattle - and - daub structure was later used during the eighteen-fifties as a place of worship for them.⁷⁵⁾

In January 1849 another important development in connection with Wesleyan mission work in the Kaffrarian capital occurred when the Rev. John Appleyard arrived in town with his family. He was in charge of the Wesleyan Mission Press which was moved to King William's Town because of its "central position to all Kaffirland". Appleyard was assisted by an apprentice and after some time joined by a binder too. The press arrived in March. During 1849 Appleyard's establishment printed an impressive number of lesson books, hymn books, a Xhosa dictionary, parts of the Bible, circulars and schedules. Many of the books were bound. He also produced the first copy of his standard work on Xhosa grammar and comparative philology called The Kaffir Language.⁷⁶⁾

The excellent progress of the Wesleyan Mission Press continued during 1850. The printing of The South African Watchman and Missionary Magazine was resumed and in August the first edition of the Isitunywa Sennyanga or The Monthly Messenger appeared. This newspaper was the first to be published in King William's Town and probably on the Border.⁷⁷⁾ Appleyard afterwards stated

74) J. Whiteside: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, pp. 146 - 147.

75) BK 46: W. Holden - Maclean, 7.8.1860; Souvenir in Commemoration of the Jubilee Celebrations of the King William's Town Circuit, Methodist Church of S.A. 1893 - 1943, p. 11; Whiteside: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, p. 147.

76) Frye: The War of the Axe and the Xhosa Bible, pp. 121 - 122, 134 - 136.

77) The Monthly Messenger, September 1850; D.S.A.B., I, p. 19; Frye: The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible, p. 125.

that during 1850 " ... upwards of one million pages in the Kafir and English languages went through our press."⁷⁸⁾

Early in 1851 Appleyard applied to the Kaffrarian Government for an additional plot adjoining the one he then occupied in Berkeley Street. It was apparently also near the erf on which the Mission Printing Office stood. In his application Appleyard made it clear that he still had his ordinary missionary duties, apart from his printing activities:

"The only reason of the Society's wishing to purchase the said erf, is to afford suitable and convenient accommodation for the residence of the Missionary, who acts not only as the Minister of a religious congregation, but is also very extensively employed in the Literary and Postal departments of our Kafirland and Natal Missions, which employments, together with the central position which he occupies between the Colony and the Interior stations, involve the necessity of larger premises than can be erected on a spot of ground so small as 60 ft. x 90 ft." ⁷⁹⁾

This application was submitted to Cathcart, who approved of the granting of an additional plot at an annual quitrent of £1.⁸⁰⁾ Appleyard left King William's Town about the middle of 1851 for health reasons, but after spending some time in the Cape Colony and Natal, he returned to the Kaffrarian capital in October 1852.⁸¹⁾ He again worked enthusiastically on the printing of material in the Xhosa language and advertised in March 1853 for the services of a compositor.⁸²⁾ The Appleyard family left King William's Town early in August 1853 on the missionary's transfer to Mount Coke.⁸³⁾ While in the capital, Appleyard's main contribution was undoubtedly the spreading of the Gospel to the Xhosa through the printed word.

The existing Wesleyan chapel in Smith Street soon became too small for the growing European congregation and in 1855 the building with its site was sold to a businessman.⁸⁴⁾ The original wattle - and - daub building was used in the meantime for church purposes until the completion of the new chapel in 1857.⁸⁵⁾

78) BK 435: J. Appleyard - Mackinnon, 4.1.1851.

79) BK 435: Appleyard - Mackinnon, 4.1.1851.

80) BK 405: Mackinnon - Appleyard, 8.1.1851.

81) Frye: The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible, pp. 131 - 132.

82) G. Journal, 19.3.1853, 9.4.1853 (Advertisements).

83) Frye: The War of the Axe and the Xosa Bible, p. 132.

84) G. Journal, 5.5.1855.

85) K. Gazette, 14.3.1857.

The latter building was commenced and completed during the pastorate of the Rev. George Chapman and cost more than £2 000. It stood near to the site of the wattle - and daub structure.⁸⁶⁾ A school building was erected almost simultaneously on one of the adjoining Wesleyan properties in Berkeley Street.⁸⁷⁾ It would seem that the use of the original wattle - and - daub chapel for Xhosa services dated from this time. The new double - storeyed missionary house stood between the chapel and school.

The Wesleyan chapel for Europeans was eventually inaugurated with a series of dedication services at the beginning of November 1857. One of the sermons was delivered by the Rev. Tiyo Soga, Xhosa missionary, translator of the Bible and the first ordained Black minister in South Africa. It was appropriate that he should preach in King William's Town because his mother, Nosuthu, belonged to Tzatzoe's Ama Ntinde tribe.⁸⁸⁾ The appearance of Soga was eagerly awaited for weeks:

"Though to a highly cultivated and educated man, the circumstance of being a 'curiosity' is not calculated to enhance a soothing or pleasant state of mind, it is unquestionably true that next to hearing his sermon, the public was anxious to see his person."⁸⁹⁾

The Wesleyan missionary activities in King William's Town continued to grow, as was reflected in the regular visits by the Rev. W. Impey, General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions.⁹⁰⁾ A regular feature from 1857 was the Anniversary Services and public meetings of the King William's Town Branch Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society which were held in June or July. Two sermons were usually delivered on the Sunday, followed by a public meeting on the Monday evening. Gifted speakers like the Reverends W. Holden, J Appleyard and J. Ayliff officiated on these occasions.⁹¹⁾

During a meeting of the King William's Town Auxiliary which was held in July 1858 and chaired by Charles Brownlee, one of the resolutions referred to the "exodus" of the Xhosa to the Cape Colony in the wake of the cattle-killing catastrophe. The hope was expressed " ... that their altered circumstances might conduce to their conversion to Christianity and their elevation in the

86) Whiteside: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, p. 147.

87) Souvenir of the Jubilee Celebrations of the King William's Town Circuit, p. 11; BK 46: Holden - Maclean, 7.8.1860.

88) D.S.A.B., I, p. 758.

89) K. Gazette, 14.11.1857 (Those who attended were not disappointed and were impressed by Soga's excellent diction and his natural talents as a preacher).

90) K. Gazette, 3.4.1858, 2.6.1860 (Local and Colonial), 2.4.1861 (Local and Colonial).

91) K. Gazette, 30.5.1857, 13.6.1857, 19.6.1858, 3.7.1858, 21.5.1859 (Advertisement), 4.6.1859, 17.7.1860 (Extra), 27.7.1860, 19.7.1861 (Advertisement).

scale of civilization and social advancement." ⁹²⁾ At the missionary meeting of 1859 the Rev. Tiyo Soga's speech was listened to with deep attention. ⁹³⁾ One of the most successful of these meetings took place in July 1860. Church members and ministers of various denominations attended, including the Rev. John Brownlee. The public meeting was preceded by a prayer meeting in the afternoon. ⁹⁴⁾ The Anniversary services in 1861 coincided with the opening of the so-called Native Chapel in July. The missionary meeting the next day was held under the chairmanship of the Rev. W. Impey, the Mission Superintendent. ⁹⁵⁾

A new chapel for the Xhosa became essential because of the dilapidated condition of the wattle - and - daub building in Berkeley Street. Money for this church was raised by collections and bazaars. A very successful bazaar was held in May 1860. One of the leading businessmen's stores was tastefully decorated for the occasion with evergreens, fruits and flowers and on three cross-beams were the words Education, Progress, Religion. At the further end of the room was a transparent crown and at the store's entrance a "Post Office" with a postmaster and postmistress. Women of other denominations also assisted and more than £300 was raised. ⁹⁶⁾

In June 1860 tenders for the new chapel were advertised. ⁹⁷⁾ The existing building, " ... having fallen into decay ... was taken down of necessity." ⁹⁸⁾ This left the Xhosa congregation without a place of worship, a position which was aggravated by problems arising in connection with the property originally granted for this purpose. ⁹⁹⁾ This matter was soon rectified and the laying of the chapel's foundation stone by George Impey, a local inhabitant, took place in September.

This ceremony was preceded by a missionary meeting for Blacks on 27 July. The predominantly Xhosa congregation was described as neither numerous nor rich, but £20 was raised in collections on that day. The people had given more than

92) K. Gazette, 3.7.1858.

93) K. Gazette, 4.6.1859.

94) K. Gazette, 27.7.1860.

95) K. Gazette, 19.7.1861 (Advertisement).

96) K. Gazette, 26.5.1860.

97) K. Gazette, 16.6.1860 (Notice).

98) BK 46: W. Holden - Maclean, 7.8.1860.

99) BK 46: Holden - Maclean, 7.8.1860.

£40 towards their new chapel too in the previous months.¹⁰⁰⁾ The Wesleyan chapel for the Black congregation of King William's Town was eventually opened on 28 July 1861. The church members contributed about £120 towards the cost of the building, which was situated in New Town.¹⁰¹⁾

As in the case of the Buffalo Mission, the Wesleyan Mission in King William's Town later had a decentralized system of outstations with the capital forming the centre of the district Circuit.¹⁰²⁾ By 1861 the Mission House in Berkeley Street played a major rôle in these missionary activities. One noteworthy aspect was that the building served as a depot for the British and Foreign Bible Society where large supplies of Bibles, hymn books and Sunday Services were available.¹⁰³⁾ As with Appleyard's printing establishment, the Depot was of great significance in spreading the printed word among British Kaffraria's Xhosa population.

d. Other Denominations:

Although the Anglican Church did not undertake any mission work in King William's Town, they regarded it as an important centre from which to undertake such activities among the Xhosa. In October 1848 Robert Gray, the first Bishop of Cape Town (1847 - 1872), visited the Kaffrarian capital. He stated afterwards:

" Here must be the centre of our future missionary operations." ¹⁰⁴⁾

In 1854 the Anglicans eventually established the St. Lukes Mission in Umhala's territory.¹⁰⁵⁾ Anglican mission stations (with schools) were founded too in Sandile's location (St. John) and at Keiskamma Hoek (St. Matthew) during 1855.¹⁰⁶⁾ After the founding of a separate Diocese of Grahamstown in 1853, the Bishop visited the Kaffrarian missions and King William's Town fairly regularly and sometimes delivered a sermon to the local Anglican congregation.¹⁰⁷⁾ Conferences were also held occasionally in the Kaffrarian capital. In March 1860 such a

100) K. Gazette, 31.8.1860. (Local and Colonial).

101) K. Gazette, 19.7.1861 (Notice), 30.7.1861 (Local and Colonial).

102) BK 92: Rev. Hephurn - Brownlow, 15.8.1863.

103) K. Gazette, 31.5.1861 (Notice).

104) C. Wood: A Note on the Beginnings of Anglican Missionary Work from King William's Town: Archives, Church of the Province, p. 1.

105) BK 373: Letter 177: Maclean - Liddle, 10.10.1854.

106) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 241.

107) G. Journal, 12.8.1856, 19.8.1856; K. Gazette, 7.4.1860.

meeting was attended, among other persons, by the Bishop of the Diocese and dealt with aspects like training and agriculture.¹⁰⁸⁾ The consecration of the Holy Trinity Church on 21 February 1861 was preceded by a similar meeting to which all Anglican missionaries were summoned.¹⁰⁹⁾ During the Whitsun week two sermons held on one of the weekdays had reference to the mission work of the Anglican Church.¹¹⁰⁾

There is no record that the Roman Catholic Church or the Lutherans did any mission (or educational) work among the Xhosa in and around King William's Town during this period. On the whole, the local public was sympathetic towards missionary activities. Early in 1853, for example, they raised £45 for re-establishing the Berlin Mission at Bethel after the war.¹¹¹⁾

e. Schooling for the Xhosa Through the Buffalo Mission:

In the field of education proper Government facilities were found to be almost completely lacking for the Blacks and Europeans of King William's Town. Although Sir George Grey actively promoted a system of industrial schools among the Xhosa, there was no such centre in the immediate vicinity of the town. The responsibilities for the education of the local Xhosa again devolved largely on the Brownlee Mission.

One of the Rev. John Brownlee's first tasks after his arrival in 1826 was the erection of a wattle - and - daub school.¹¹²⁾ By 1827 the school and Sunday School had been well established, with about 20 Xhosa attending the school on week days and 30 on Sundays. A dwelling for a Black teacher (probably Mary Tzatzoe who started an infant school) was soon erected. After the destruction of the Buffalo Mission in the Sixth Frontier War and the retrocession of the Province of Queen Adelaide at the end of 1836, Brownlee used the former military hospital as temporary school and chapel.¹¹³⁾ In 1838 a school room

108) K. Gazette, 7.4.1860.

109) K. Gazette, 15.2.1861 (Local and Colonial).

110) K. Gazette, 14.5.1861 (Local and Colonial), 17.5.1861.

111) G. Journal, 19.3.1853.

112) Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p. 25.

113) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, opposite p. 71, pp. 72, 84, 94 - 95.

was built about two miles from the Station and one of the converts appointed as schoolmaster.¹¹⁴⁾

During Backhouse's visit to the Buffalo Mission in 1839, he inspected the infant school run by Tzatzoe's daughter. About 50 children were seated on stones around the room and all the classes were in English. By then there was a comfortable school room in one of the empty houses. Backhouse mentioned too that Tzatzoe and two Xhosa teachers conducted classes at nearby kraals. On another occasion about 150 adults assembled for educational purposes on the Mission.¹¹⁵⁾ From 1840 Brownlee's eldest daughter and son Charles assisted for some time in the school. This was in addition to Mary Tzatzoe and a Xhosa schoolmaster. By 1842 a Miss Fitchers took over "a more advanced class for girls" and was assisted by the missionary's daughter. The female Xhosa were given instruction too in sewing by Mrs. Brownlee and her daughters.¹¹⁶⁾

After the Seventh War and the appropriation of the original mission site by the military authorities, Brownlee had to erect completely new facilities, including a school. The education and other activities were interrupted somewhat by the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War in 1850, but were nevertheless continued. Early in 1853, shortly before the conclusion of peace, there were 100 adult school members and 40 children, which made it the largest educational institution of its kind in British Kaffraria.¹¹⁷⁾ In 1855 there were 150 Blacks attending the day school and 160 at the Sunday School. Many were taught to read the Scriptures.¹¹⁸⁾ In 1856 the number of Xhosa adults and children attending school increased to 209. There were then 8 Blacks capable of teaching.¹¹⁹⁾

During 1856 an application for financial aid was made for an inexpensive building for a girls' boarding school under the Misses Brownlee and for a salary of another female teacher at the Buffalo Mission. Funds were further requested for the salaries of four Xhosa schoolmasters at the four outstations.¹²⁰⁾ This request was apparently not acceded to. During that year the number of

114) Mc Callum: Buluneli, p. 76.

115) Backhouse: Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa, pp. 237 - 240.

116) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, pp. 110 -111; Mc Cullam: Buluneli, p. 77.

117) BK 371: Summary of Mission Reports, Kaffraria, 1853 (Annexure to Letter 41, Maclean - Liddle, 6.2.1853, p. 283).

118) BK 90: Statistical Returns (Buffalo Mission), 4.2.1853.

119) BK 90: Statistical Returns, 12.7.1856.

120) BK 90: Memorandum, Rev. R. Birt, 17.7.1856.

Xhosa children at the day school was about thirty — "this is nearly all that are able to attend the rest are all employed in the Town or attending cattle." ¹²¹⁾ There were more persons present in the evenings and many adults used this opportunity to be taught to read. The Sunday School was also well attended. The evening school continued its popularity in 1857. There were then 57 young people and adults attending these classes, compared to the 10 boys and 20 girls in the local day school. At 2 of the 4 outstations there were regular school classes too, which was attended by 103 children. ¹²²⁾ The average attendance remained about the same for 1859. ¹²³⁾

The arrival of the Rev. Henry Kayser stimulated education at the Buffalo Mission, although it was largely concentrated on the outstations. ¹²⁴⁾ He soon succeeded in supplying two of these stations with teachers, but was worried about the large numbers of children there and at the central Station who remained uneducated. He felt that if there was an efficient teacher at King William's Town, the attendance figures at the local school could double. ¹²⁵⁾

The Board of the London Missionary Society assisted the Buffalo Mission by paying some of the teachers' salaries, but the need for education among the Xhosa under this Station's jurisdiction far exceeded the available funds. There was also a serious shortage of school materials. ¹²⁶⁾ Another problem was to obtain suitable Xhosa teachers. ¹²⁷⁾ Fortunately Brownlee's daughter was still teaching at the local day-school by 1861. ¹²⁸⁾ The educational allowance then exceeded £100 and the two missionaries were looking for another site in King William's Town on which to erect a school and chapel. ¹²⁹⁾ In his annual report for 1861 Kayser, however, expressed deep concern about the general standard of education at the Mission:

"This place will soon be one of the most backward of the Mission stations. Our young people are already the most backward of any as it regards reading, writing, sewing & not least Scripture knowledge. I dare say the

121) ZL 1/3/23: Brownlee - London Missionary Society, 15.1.1857.

122) ZL 1/3/23: Brownlee - Tidman, 5.1.1858.

123) BK 91: Brownlee - Maclean, 25.4.1859.

124) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.5.1860.

125) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 11.6.1860.

126) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - Tidman, 10.11.1860.

127) ZL 1/3/24: Kayser - London Missionary Society, 13.6.1861.

128) Mc Callum: Buluneli, p. 106.

129) BK 92: Kayser - Brownlow, 21.10.1861, enclosing memorial dated 21 October 1861.

matter would have long been settled, if M^r Brownlee did not make difficulties ... He seems to say that it is the peoples duty to instruct their own children and bring them to a Sabbath school ...

"It is for the Board to decide this question whether, so large a station at the capital of a new Colony, is or is not to have efficient educational assistance for its young ..." 130)

f. The Wesleyans:

There is little available information on the Wesleyan Church's educational facilities for Blacks in King William's Town. It appears that there were no Xhosa pupils in the Berkeley Street schools and that until 1860 there was no form of secular instruction for the Black population. The first step to provide this was taken in 1857 when the Wesleyan Missionary Society applied for a local piece of land for school purposes. This grant was authorized, but later the Rev. W. Chapman selected another property between D' Urban Street and Amatola Row. The Kaffrarian Government had no objection to this site, but questions then arose as to the extent of the grant and whether the school would be open to Blacks and Europeans. Grey subsequently approved a grant of two building lots and said that the Wesleyans could either admit Blacks or Europeans or both groups. 131) Maclean imposed a condition that a school costing at least £150 had to be built on the site within eighteen months. 132)

This school building was evidently never erected and by 1860 it was decided to build one near the proposed chapel for Blacks. 133) Tenders were invited in August and the building was completed soon afterwards. 134) At the end of 1860 the "Native" day school had one teacher, with eleven boys and fifteen girls attending classes. In the Xhosa class there were sixteen scholars who were taught easy reading and ten received Scripture instruction. In 1861 the attendance figures increased slightly to nineteen boys and eleven girls. Eight pupils in the "Kaffir" class were studying the alphabet, six easy reading; ten children received tuition in advanced reading and six in the Scripture. There

130) ZL 1/3/25: Kayser - Tidman, 17.3.1862.

131) BK 44: Rev. W. Chapman - Maclean, 12.6.1857; BK 406: Maclean - Montagu (Surveyor General), 30.11.1857, p. 359; BK 379: Schedule 10, Maclean - Grey, 26.1.1858, with Grey's undated reply.

132) BK 407: Maclean - Montagu, 11.2.1858, p. 50.

133) BK 46: Rev. W. Holden - Maclean, 7.8.1860.

134) K. Gazette, 28.8.1860 (Notice); BK 387: Brownlee - Bryant (Acting Surveyor-General), 27.3.1861, p. 92.

were no books yet and only six pupils were writing on slates. Wesleyan day schools existed at least from 1858 in Bidhili's Kraal and Umbana's Kraal near King William's Town.

Wesleyan Sunday Schools for Xhosa in the Kaffrarian capital were well established by 1858. There were then four Black teachers with fifteen boys and forty-three girls attending classes. The Sunday School played an important rôle initially in teaching the Xhosa the alphabet and to read. In 1861 there were twenty-seven registered Black adults, nineteen boys and eleven girls in the local Sunday School. ¹³⁵⁾

The annual Wesleyan Sunday School anniversaries provided a highlight for Black and European children in King William's Town. Most of these anniversaries (which were held between July and September) took the form of two sermons and a public examination on the particular Sunday. The examination consisted largely of recitations from the Scripture. A picnic, tea meeting and public meeting usually followed on the Monday. ¹³⁶⁾ In 1857 the Xhosa and European children went to the "usual playground above the Hospital" after receiving their cake. The Black congregation then had a meeting in their small chapel which was packed with 200 people. ¹³⁷⁾

g. Other Missionary Education:

In July 1856 the general lack of educational facilities in King William's Town for the Xhosa and Europeans led to an application for suitable school premises from Miss H. Harding on behalf of the "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East and in Africa". She proposed to start a local day school as well as boarding school for 50 persons in which Black and European girls could be brought up together. ¹³⁸⁾ At that stage Miss Harding had a similar institution at Peelton but wanted to move to the Kaffrarian capital — probably to be more

135) Cape of Good Hope: Reports on Native Affairs, 1849 - 1862: Reports of the Native Industrial Schools ... , 1858 - 1861.

136) G. Journal, 13.8.1853, 20.8.1853, 19.8.1854, 18.8.1855, 12.8.1856; K. Gazette, 11.9.1858(Notice), 25.9.1858 (Notes of the Week), 19.7.1859, 26.10.1860.

137) K. Gazette, 1.8.1857.

138) BK 44: Harding - Maclean, 2.7.1856.

central.¹³⁹⁾ Sir George Grey had no objection to the granting of such a plot, on condition that it be given in trust for school purposes to the trustees of the Society.¹⁴⁰⁾ This application later lapsed because the Society declined to accept any grant from the Crown. The existing female school for Xhosa at Peeltion continued its activities, and several bazaars were held in King William's Town in aid of this institution.¹⁴¹⁾

h. The Government's Involvement:

Although the Kaffrarian Government did not make provision for any schools for Xhosa in and around King William's Town, some interest was shown in education among the Ama Ntinde tribe. Tzatzoe himself received a training at Bethelsdorp and was keen to promote education among his followers. He was present at the meeting of Xhosa chiefs in the Kaffrarian capital which Sir Harry Smith convened on 7 October 1848. The Bishop of Cape Town also attended and the High Commissioner introduced him as "the great chief of teachers". While speaking on this subject Smith addressed Tzatzoe:

"Have you anything to say? You, who have been in England, seen the great world there, and you saw that no man there eats the bread of idleness? and yet, fool! you dared join with the Kafirs against the power of the Queen. Have you anything to say to the Lord Bishop for the furtherance of education among your countrymen?

"Jan Tzatzoe. — The Lord Bishop is a great and wise man, and the Great Chief has already remarked that I am a fool. How, therefore, can I give any advice upon this subject? But we certainly require teaching to remove our ignorance. The Lord Bishop will best know how to accomplish this."¹⁴²⁾

For years no educational facilities were apparently provided by the authorities in Tzatzoe's territory. It was only in 1858 that five boys from the Ama Ntinde tribe were sent to the newly established Industrial School at Bishop's Court, Cape Town. However, this form of education was for a privileged few. In Tzatzoe's case his own son called Duke of Wellington, his brother's son and three of his councillors' sons were taken up in this school.¹⁴³⁾ Tzatzoe's son

139) G. Journal, 17.11.1855 (Notice).

140) BK 406: Maclean - Montagu, 19.12.1856, p.77.

141) G. Journal, 17.11.1855 (Notice); K. Gazette, 21.8.1856 (Notice), 10.4.1856 (Notice).

142) 1849, XXXVI (1056). Corresp. re Kaffirs, 1848-9: Smith - Earl Grey, 21.10.1848, enclosing copy of a report on the meeting, p. 33.

143) Cape of Good Hope: Reports on Native Affairs, 1849-1862: Report of the Kafir Industrial Institution at Bishop's Court, Protea, 17.1.1859, p. 9.

was also among the children of Xhosa chiefs who each received a farm in 1859. Grey specified that the income from these farms should be used to pay for the education of the children.¹⁴⁴⁾

Henry Duke Jan Tzatzoe, as Chief Tzatzoe's son was called after his baptism, was also privileged to accompany the Bishop of Grahamstown to England in 1859.¹⁴⁵⁾ Chief Kama's son went along too.¹⁴⁶⁾ The Bishop's main purpose in taking them with him was educational and he soon wrote to ask their parents whether they could remain for a few years in England — "They are both very intelligent boys and very anxious to learn."¹⁴⁷⁾ Both chiefs were willing to let their sons stay for a period of three years.¹⁴⁸⁾ This was one of the first cases in which Xhosa youths from British Kaffraria went to study overseas.

The authorities gave little attention to the educational needs of the ordinary Ama Ntinde children. The first Xhosa teacher to be appointed by the Kaffrarian Government among the tribe evidently only assumed his duties in 1860.¹⁴⁹⁾

Despite the large Xhosa population of King William's Town, the only Government action at the educational level was to allocate twelve plots in the Pensioners' Village in 1859 as endowments for the maintenance of a Black school.¹⁵⁰⁾ Six of these erven had Pensioner cottages on them. The school endowment system worked on the same principle as the more elaborate hospital endowments. This meant that the accrued interest on the lease or sale of these properties had to be used for a Black educational institution which at first remained unspecified.¹⁵¹⁾ However, early in 1861 Grey stipulated that the amount of £42 which was received from renting the six cottages should be sent to the Anglican Bishop of Cape Town for the upkeep of the Zonnebloem "Kaffir College". Further school endowment funds had to be forwarded to the Bishop on a regular basis.¹⁵²⁾

In the first years of King William's Town's existence until Sir George Grey's

144) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 276 (See also Chapter III).

145) BK 92: Bishop of Grahamstown - Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor, British Kaffraria, 6.1.1865.

146) GH 30/5: Travers (Secretary to High Commissioner), 24.3.1859, p. 72.

147) BK 3: Travers - Maclean, 7.6.1859, enclosing Bishop's letter dated 31 March 1859.

148) BK 380: Schedule 85, Maclean - Grey, 8.8.1859, enclosing letter from G. Brownlow dated 7 August 1859.

149) BK 264: State of Expenditure, Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe, November 1860.

150) GH 30/5: Travers - Maclean, 23.7.1859, p. 112.

151) See Chapter V.

152) BK 387: Brownlow - Taylor (Resident Magistrate), 14.2.1861, p. 59.

departure in 1861 the religious and educational upliftment of the local Xhosa population remained largely the responsibility of missionaries. The Buffalo Mission played a major rôle in both fields, as well as in the founding of King William's Town. These two facets influenced the local Xhosa's whole social structure.

THE IMPACT OF TOWN LIFE ON THE XHOSA

a. Social Facets:

History with its modern emphasis on culture in its widest sense, has been described by a well-known historian as "... all we know about everything man has ever done, or thought, or hoped, or felt." ¹⁾ History thus regarded embraces all social facets.

Although current sources on the Xhosa's traditional way of life in and around King William's Town are limited — largely because few written Xhosa records exist and because the Europeans with their ethnocentric views regarded it as uncivilized — an attempt will be made to describe these customs. This outline may assist towards a better understanding of the Blacks who settled at the town and in understanding the actions and attitudes of Chief Jan Tzatzoe and the Ama Ntinde tribe.

An assessment of the influence of Western civilization, as well as Government measures on the local Xhosa population will also be given in the course of this chapter and later in the thesis. All the actions and reactions of the Xhosa in the given period should be viewed against the background of their traditional culture and the influences of social change or acculturation.

Because of historical factors the Fingo were by 1850 largely assimilated with the Xhosa in the cultural sense. For the purposes of this work the customs of the Xhosa will therefore be described. Generally the Fingo were regarded in contemporary sources as part of the "Kaffir" race and unless specifically stated, the term "Xhosa" will be used to include both Xhosa and Fingo.

It must further be noted that even by 1861 the Xhosa were almost invariably referred to as "Kaffirs". This term was not necessarily used in the later derogatory sense.

1) H.E. Barnes : A History of Historical Writing, p.3, citing J.H. Robinson.

It will finally become apparent that the traditional social and economic interests of the Xhosa were often so interwoven that they can hardly be distinguished from each other. It will become apparent too that the Xhosa's customary social patterns were greatly influenced by their contact with the European economy at commercial centres like King William's Town.

b. Traditional Customs and European Influences:

Before the establishment in 1847 of the Province of British Kaffraria with King William's Town as its capital, the European contact with the Xhosa in this region was largely confined to a few missionaries and traders. The average Xhosa still respected tribal custom as his guiding principles.²⁾

All the authority was centred around the Xhosa chief. He had a decentralized system of government under him in which petty chiefs or headmen ruled over kraals or groups of kraals. Their remuneration was usually in the form of livestock or assegais which the chiefs received in fines collected from disobedient tribesmen or those found guilty of witchcraft.³⁾ It was therefore in the interests of everyone to give their full obedience and loyalty to their hereditary chief. This decentralized system formed the basis of each Xhosa tribe's social, economic, legal and even military organization. Within this tribal system the individual formed part of a closely interwoven social pattern which facilitated conformity with traditional customs. It also largely explains the cultural homogeneity of the Xhosa nation as a whole.

Sir George Grey was greatly interested in the Xhosa's traditions and made a special study of it. In October 1856 he gave a lengthy account of these customs to Labouchere, British Secretary of State for the Colonies. Grey

2) J.H. Soga : The Ama-Xosa : Life and Customs, p.129.

3) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856 - 7: Grey - H. Labouchere, 18.10.1856, p.38.

eventually based many of his administrative reforms on these traditional customs. As these measures were to have a lasting effect on South Africa's native policy and on the King William's Town region in particular, his accurate observations are of more than passing ethnological interest.⁴⁾ Grey stated:

"Throughout Kaffraria the natives live along the ridges and slopes of the hills which bound the courses of the streams, in collections of huts termed kraals. The huts are shaped like a beehive, built with a framework of poles, then plastered with cow dung, and thatched all over with grass.⁵⁾ They are about six or seven feet high, with a diameter of from 14 to 18 feet; they are inhabited generally by the family, sprung from one wife, as well as by some of her relations....

"The average number of inhabitants in each kraal, including men, women, and children, is about 20 or 25. The average number of cattle attached in ordinary times to a kraal is about one head of cattle for each human being ...

"Each tribe inhabits a separate district of country, called here a location ... Several kraals are nearly always in sight of each other; and the war cry being raised at any of them, spreads from one to the other on every side with wonderful rapidity

"For the greater part of the year they (the men) lounge idly about their kraals throughout the day; their pursuits being principally pastoral, varied by occasional hunting parties in their own immediate neighbourhood, or dances on such occasions as weddings, & c. The men milk their cattle, enclose their cultivations and cattle kraals, and build the frames of their houses. The women thatch the houses, collect the firewood, and perform the principal part of the field work ... At present they confine their attention to horned stock, horses, goats, and poultry."⁶⁾

Judging from the available information about the traditional Xhosa customs around King William's Town and the Ama Ntinde tribe in particular, it would seem that these practices mainly conformed to those outlined by Sir George Grey. Even after European contact, most of the local Xhosa at first continued to live in their bee-hive huts. This also applied to those who

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- 4) Grey claimed that this was the first comprehensive report of its kind which had ever been submitted to the Colonial Office.
 - 5) It is noteworthy that bee-hive huts (Ngqu-Pantsi) were still used — under the influence of the Natal Nguni (Soga : The Ama-Xosa, pp.408-410).
 - 6) 1857-8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7 : Grey — Labouchere, 18.10.1856, pp. 37-38 (Grey also outlined the Xhosa's customary law system, an aspect which will be dealt with in Chapter VII).

who went to live on the Buffalo Mission, who retained their cattle kraals as well.⁷⁾ Jan Tzatzoe was probably the first Xhosa to erect a house in the European fashion at King William's Town. On his visit to Brownlee's mission station in 1839, the Rev. James Backhouse referred to this house which, he said, differed greatly in style from the adjacent traditional hut in which Tzatzoe's father and uncle lived. On this occasion Backhouse found the two men seated on the mud floor of their hut beneath a fire, smoking tobacco.⁸⁾

With the refounding of King William's Town in 1847, the bee-hive huts were still the main local feature. The following year a Xhosa village — the first to be officially laid out at the town by the authorities — was constructed. Col. Mackinnon, Chief Commissioner of the new Province of British Kaffraria, stipulated that the huts in this village had to be squarely built in the European style, with only the roofs of thatch.⁹⁾ With the European part of the town also laid out in streets and squares and with buildings appearing everywhere, Mackinnon could state in his first annual report:

"King William's Town, which, at the commencement of the year consisted only of a few Kaffir huts, is now a large and populous town."¹⁰⁾

The Kaffrarian capital's unprecedented expansion continued during the next decade and in October 1858 it was remarked that one could hardly believe "... that this town, with its vicinity, was a short ten years ago a Kafir location — beehive huts and kraals ..." ¹¹⁾ The traditional huts were by 1860 still in general use around King William's Town.¹²⁾ The interior of the huts were sparsely furnished; mainly with sleeping mats and cooking utensils.¹³⁾

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- 7) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp.71, 125.
 8) Backhouse : Narrative of a Visit, pp. 238 - 239.
 9) BK 403 : Mackinnon — W. Shepstone, 1.6.1848.
 10) GH 14/9 : Mackinnon — H. Smith (High Commissioner), 1.1.1849.
 11) K. Gazette, 16.10.1858 (Letter from "P.P.C." dated 5 October 1858).
 12) K. Gazette, 11.9.1860 (Grey's new village system and its effects on the Ama Ntinde tribe is dealt with in Chapter III).
 13) K. Gazette, 25.4.1857.

The cattle kraal remained another dominant feature of Xhosa society. With their economic life centred around their cattle, the males spent much of their time around the kraals.¹⁴⁾ On a purely social level, the cattle served as the main measure of a man's status and provided the dowry (lobola) for taking a wife. In addition, the cattle were used for sacrificial purposes, as well as to pay fines.¹⁵⁾ Horses were also important to the Xhosas — in 1848 there were already 108 horses among the Ama Ntinde tribe, although this figure had decreased to only 44 by 1860.¹⁶⁾

The traditional utensils of the Xhosa consisted mainly of clay pots and calabashes.¹⁷⁾ Under European influence these vessels were mostly superseded by items like iron pots and kettles which were freely and cheaply available at centres such as King William's Town. On more than one occasion during the cattle-killing mania, Xhosa were seen passing through the town with their pots, kettles and mats.¹⁸⁾

The traditional clothing of the Xhosa was of the scantiest.¹⁹⁾ When August Beutler encountered Bange (then chief of the Ama Ntinde tribe) in 1752, he recorded that his only clothing was a skin kaross.²⁰⁾ Backhouse mentioned in 1839 that Jan Tzatzoe's father and uncle were still wearing karosses. At the Buffalo Mission, however, Backhouse saw on another occasion about 150 adults dressed in European garments.²¹⁾ Those in the Station's schools and those who attended church were dressed similarly. John Brownlee found a great demand for European clothing among the Xhosa and successfully applied to the London Missionary Society for gifts of this nature.²²⁾ By 1850 most of the Xhosa living around King William's Town or visiting the town were already influenced by the Europeans in their clothing habits, although their dress was often limited at first to blankets which they wrapped around them.²³⁾

14) See Chapter VIII.

15) Soga : The Ama-Xhosa, pp.147, 264.

16) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7 : Census of the Gaika Tribes, 1848, p.43.

17) K. Gazette, 5.7.1861 (Local and Colonial).

18) K. Gazette, 25.4.1857, 19.9.1857.

19) Soga : The Ama-Xhosa, pp.410-412 (The men and women wore more elaborate clothing on festive occasions).

20) G.M. Theal : History and Ethnology before 1795, p.150.

21) Backhouse : Narrative of a Visit, pp.238 - 239.

22) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, p.111.

23) G. Journal, 5.4.1853 (Extra), 30.4.1853.

The authorities and the European inhabitants of the Kaffrarian capital expressed concern about those Xhosa who were still seen periodically in town in their traditional garments. This led to an official notice in April 1853 which stipulated that no "... Native will be allowed to enter King William's Town without being decently dressed in European clothing." ²⁴⁾ This regulation was again rescinded a few days later, reportedly at the request of traders and other citizens. ²⁵⁾ The memorialists immediately denied this statement and emphasized that they were "... not anxious that the Kaffirs should appear in our Streets in a State of Nudity ..." ²⁶⁾

However, the existing position remained unchanged, to the disgust of the local correspondent of the Graham's Town Journal. ²⁷⁾ In August 1854 a tourist to the town again referred to "... the airy costume of their dark visitors from the surrounding country. We fear it would be highly unpolite to describe all that is witnessed ... We think the present state of things would be greatly improved, were gentlemen Kaffirs in future be at least required to keep their blankets buttoned." ²⁸⁾

In April 1858 the Kaffrarian Government published yet another Government Notice. This regulation empowered the police to remove from the town any Xhosa who was not properly dressed. ²⁹⁾ After that this problem largely disappeared and the local Gazette could report in October 1858:

"..It is only occasionally that a Kaffir ventures to show himself in the free and easy garb he loves so well." ³⁰⁾

The Xhosa remained fond of their traditional ornaments, which varied according to a person's status or sex. In 1752 when Beutler met the Ama Ntinde Chief Bange, it was recorded that he "... wore ornaments made of beads - obtained from elephant hunters - on his head and hanging from his ears, round his neck were pieces

24) BK 109: Public Notice, 29.4.1853.

25) BK 109: Public Notice, 5.5.1853.

26) BK 44: Memorialists - Maclean, 7.5.1853.

27) G. Journal, 19.11.1853.

28) G. Journal, 26.8.1854 (Undated "Notes of a Traveller").

29) BK 109: Government Notice 12, 20.4.1858.

30) K. Gazette, 16.10.1858 (Notes of the Week).

of copper strung together on a thong, from which were suspended two pieces of ivory, and his arms were decorated with metal rings." ³¹⁾

The ordinary Xhosa's ornamentation consisted mainly of red ochre and beads. The authorities disapproved of both these forms of ornament; in 1848 Mackinnon gave instructions that the traders should discontinue their sale of such items. This measure was largely intended "... to put a stop to the filthy practice which the Kaffirs have of bedaubing themselves with red clay ..." ³²⁾ Maclean did not strictly enforce this regulation and traders later again sold beads in King William's Town's stores. ³³⁾ During the destitution following the cattle-killing, Xhosa were trying to resell their beads and other ornaments locally in order to buy food. ³⁴⁾ Blacks with ochred bodies and faces were still occasionally seen in the town. ³⁵⁾

The feathers of the blue crane formed the main ornamentation in Xhosa warfare, but it could only be worn by those who had proved themselves as fearless warriors. ³⁶⁾ Until about 1850 shields and throwing assegais remained the Xhosa's conventional weapons. ³⁷⁾ During the Eighth Frontier War (1850 - 1853) fire-arms were for the first time used on a large scale.

Another cause for concern to the authorities and missionaries alike were the traditional Xhosa initiation rites for boys and girls reaching puberty. After the circumcision of one of Tzatzoe's sons, Brownlee told the London Missionary Society that he was particularly concerned about the intercourse between the sexes, the taking of property and the dancing which were permitted and even promoted by the elders of the tribe during this period of seclusion. Brownlee found the initiation ceremony for girls, called the "Intonyani", equally evil although it was of shorter duration. ³⁸⁾

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- 31) Theal : History and Ethnology before 1795, p.150.
 - 32) BK 371: Letter 38, Mackinnon - High Commissioner, 2.7.1848.
 - 33) K. Gazette, 21.2.1857.
 - 34) K. Gazette, 7.2.1857.
 - 35) K. Gazette, 16.10.1856.
 - 36) F. Metrowich : Frontier Flames, p.3.
 - 37) C. Brownlee : Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History, pp. 25 - 41;
G. Cory : Rise of South Africa, III, p.243.
 - 38) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp. 112 - 114.

By 1861 these initiation rites were still generally observed around King William's Town. During the Anglican Bishop of Graham's Town's visit to the Kaffrarian capital in February 1861, he submitted a memorial to Maclean in which the Anglican missionaries of the diocese of Grahamstown (which included British Kaffraria) expressed their concern about the debasing influence of these customs on the Xhosa people.³⁹⁾ The Chief Commissioner reacted by sending a circular to his officials, notifying them "... that the Government is convinced that much wickedness and immorality are attendant on the circumcision and intonjani dances, and that it therefore expects the paid men to use their best endeavours to put a stop to these customs." He added that no dances or any of the circumcised boys in their traditional costumes should be allowed within sight of the public roads or of any European village.⁴⁰⁾

The traditional Xhosa marriage ceremony and polygamy were still generally accepted social customs around King William's Town in the 1850 s. Government officials and missionaries frowned on the customary marriage, which included the betrothal ceremony and dancing in ceremonial dress.⁴¹⁾ Henry Barrington, President of the Criminal Court, reflected the average European's attitude when he said:

"Marriage is a christian or a legal institution. Amongst the Kaffirs it does not exist."⁴²⁾

Barrington regarded polygamy as equally uncivilized. For the Xhosa on the other hand, a man's social status was partly determined by the number of his wives. The Xhosa chiefs therefore almost invariably had several wives. Jan Tzatzoe was an exception to this rule in more than one sense — he only had one wife⁴³⁾ and she was a Hottentot.⁴⁴⁾ Christian marriages nevertheless gradually gained popularity under the influence of the missionaries — on one occasion a Xhosa bride was seen in the local streets, wearing a "white muslin dress and a necklace of something very much like coral beads ..." ⁴⁵⁾ The bride was accompanied by four bridesmaids and her best men, dressed in fashionable coats.

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- 39) BK 92 : Bishop of Grahamstown (enclosing memorial) - Maclean, 25.2.1861.
 40) BK 114 : Circular 1, 8.3.1861.
 41) Soga : The Ama-Xosa, pp. 228, 236.
 42) BK 14 : Barrington - Maclean, 1.7.1858.
 43) This was probably under the influence of Brownlee and other missionaries.
 44) See Chapter III.
 45) K. Gazette, 16.10.1856 (Letter from "Our Own Correspondent" dated 14 October 1856).

Dancing was undoubtedly the most popular form of recreation among the Xhosa. Although directly under European influence, King William's Town's Xhosa population certainly did not abandon this pastime. In 1860, for example, there was nightly dancing at Gillam's Drift on the outskirts of the town, involving a considerable number of the local Blacks. The Resident Magistrate reported to Maclean that as a result of this "debauchery" these Xhosa were often unable to do their work properly the following day.⁴⁶⁾

Despite the fast disappearance of game in British Kaffraria by the 1850's, hunting remained a favourite sport. Game was scarce in the open country of the Ama Ntinde location; in May 1855 Tzatzoe's one son consequently headed a large party of tribesmen who entered the Royal Reserve illegally for hunting purposes. Tzatzoe's son afterwards had to appear before Maclean.⁴⁷⁾ Continued trespassing by hunting parties on private and Crown lands forced Maclean in June 1861 to send a circular to all magistrates (thus including the Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe), announcing heavy punishments and restricting hunting to each tribe's location. Maclean also reminded the magistrates that the use of assegais or fire-arms (even for sport) was forbidden.⁴⁸⁾ A few days later it was reported that some Xhosa had passed near the town's German Village on their return from a hunt.⁴⁹⁾

Horse-riding was an increasingly popular form of recreation for Xhosa men. Unfortunately this pastime was not always confined to the open spaces; on several occasions their furious riding through King William's Town's narrow streets endangered lives. In one case a child was injured and in another a couple of Xhosa servants were seen driving furiously through the German Village — almost injuring two children.⁵⁰⁾ The servants would also occasionally take their masters' riding horses from their stables at night and use them for their own pleasure.⁵¹⁾

46) BK 66 : Taylor — Maclean, 14.3.1860.

47) GH 8/49 : Maclean — Grey, 5.6.1855.

48) K. Gazette, 7.6.1861 (Government Notice 35, 6.6.1861).

49) BK 66 : T. Giddy (Acting Resident Magistrate) — Brownlow, 13.6.1861.

50) K. Gazette, 30.10.1858, 20.7.1860 (Local and Colonial), 9.9.1861 (Local and Colonial).

51) K. Gazette, 26.5.1860.

One of the strongest social forces among the Xhosa was their traditional belief in witchcraft. This social facet, which deserves separate mention, is also the best recorded one as far as King William's Town is concerned. This is largely due to the special interest shown by Dr. John Fitz Gerald, first Superintendent of Native Hospitals in British Kaffraria.

The first recorded case of witchcraft in the Kaffrarian capital's vicinity had its origins in the serious illness of Soko, brother of Jan Tzatzoe. A Xhosa woman was eventually "smelled out" at the beginning of 1828 and tortured. John Brownlee and Jan Tzatzoe found this woman near the kraal of old Chief Tzatzoe, Jan's father. Brownlee afterwards wrote:

"... We were filled with horror at seeing her stretched on the ground exposed to the hot rays of the Sun, her arms and feet extended and fastened with cords, and rendered incapable of the least motion ... She appeared to be literally lying on a bed of ants, and thousands of these tormenting insects were upon the neck and face. Our horror was increased upon seeing that her breasts were most severely scorched ... They had on the preceding day secured her, and kindled a large fire close by her side, the flame of which scorched her breasts." 52)

The poor woman died later of strangulation. A cow was then slaughtered as a sacrifice for another brother of Jan who had been killed earlier by lightning. When Soko's health deteriorated further, a man was "smelled out". He too eventually died of torture. 53) About this time John Moodie, 1820 Settler and author, visited the Brownlee Mission and was taken to the dying Soko's hut. He found the floor littered with earthenware pots — all with "decoctions" prepared by a female witch-doctor. The medicine had little effect on Soko. 54)

The immense influence and powers which the Xhosa witch-doctors had, were dramatically illustrated on more than one occasion in the eighteen-fifties. The

52) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, p.78.

53) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp. 80 - 82.

54) J. Moodie : Ten Years in South Africa, II, pp. 272 - 273.

witch-doctor Umlanjeni was the main instigator behind the Eighth Frontier War which broke out in December 1850. He even promised the credulous Xhosa protection against European bullets.⁵⁵⁾ The cattle-killing mania of 1856 and 1857 was again largely the brainchild of a witch-doctor called Umhlakaza.⁵⁶⁾ In both these events King William's Town played a central rôle.

As will be seen later, one of Sir George Grey's most important administrative measures was the establishment in 1856 of the Native Hospital in the Kaffrarian capital. His object was not only to provide an effective health service for the Xhosa, but also to break down the influence of the witch-doctor. Grey's first step was to appoint Dr. John Fitz Gerald.⁵⁷⁾ Soon after his arrival in South Africa in March 1856, Fitz Gerald interested himself in the witch-doctors' rôle among the Xhosa. He declared:

"The Kaffirs are a Doctor loving People, their Doctors and Prophets form part of the machinery of their Government ...

"The Kaffir Doctor is a man of immense influence patronized and supported as he is by the Chief ..." 58)

In January 1857 Fitz Gerald published two articles in the local Gazette entitled "Witch-doctors of S.A." In the first of these he related an interesting discussion he had at his home with some witch-doctors.⁵⁹⁾ In his second article the Superintendent gave an account of the witch-doctors who had already approached him for medical assistance, as well as their extensive training at the hands of an experienced doctor. He also described the different categories of witch-doctors:

"... There is a large organised body of native doctors, some of whom are doctors of medicine, others are witchdoctors, and a third class again qualified in both departments of science. A doctor is supposed to be called to the profession by a supernatural agency ... This body of doctors in their uncivilized state believe that disease is caused by witchcraft, and consequently lend themselves, I am sorry to say, oftentimes to the destruction of human life." 60)

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- 55) J. Du Plessis : A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.187; Soga : The Ama-Xosa, pp.66-67.
 56) See Chapter VI.
 57) P. Laidler and M. Gelfand : South Africa — Its Medical History, p.295.
 58) BK 100 : Fitz Gerald — Maclean, 6.12.1856.
 59) K. Gazette, 10.1.1857.
 60) K. Gazette, 17.1.1857.

The views of the local Gazette towards these doctors were less sympathetic:

"... We believe that the profession of witch doctors is accepted merely because it pays idlers well and affords evil disposed persons legal opportunities to pay off 'old scores'." 61)

During the following years Fitz Gerald and his staff successfully treated many sick patients whom the Black doctors were unable to heal, which gradually reduced the witch-doctors' reputations. Among the cases was that of a Xhosa who had developed severe pains while near a river. The witch-doctors considered these pains to be caused by a river snake, but they could find no cure for it.⁶²⁾ During the smallpox epidemic of 1860, the Fingo witch-doctors planted pegs opposite each hut. This precaution proved futile and often fatal and many Fingo flocked to the Hospital in King William's Town.⁶³⁾ Fitz Gerald once mentioned that witch-doctors tried unsuccessfully to heal their patients by covering the affected parts with cow-dung, after which they attempted to suck out the poisoned matter.⁶⁴⁾

The operation of the law also illustrates the effects and influence of witchcraft on the Xhosa's daily life. Most of those brought to court on charges of torturing, were found guilty and sentenced to a term of imprisonment in the King William's Town gaol. In May 1855 a Fingo doctor was sentenced to confinement after encouraging Chief Toise to torture people.⁶⁵⁾ In June 1858 a special court held in the Kaffrarian capital found two women guilty, but decided to refer the imposition of a heavy sentence to the High Commissioner "... to deter others from following this pernicious national practice which in so many instances has ruined the peace of families, and subjected members to the most horrible tortures." 66)

The Criminal Court was also involved in several trials concerning witchcraft. In May seven Fingo were tried for murder. It was proved that they had tortured their victim by fire.⁶⁷⁾ All received heavy sentences. In the quarterly session of the Criminal Court held in June 1861, practically the whole of the first day was taken up by a similar case in which eight Blacks had tortured a suspected woman to death.⁶⁸⁾

61) K. Gazette, 18.7.1857.

62) K. Gazette, 4.7.1857.

63) BK 101 : Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 12.3.1860; K. Gazette, 16.6. 1860 (Local and Colonial); K. Gazette, 8.2.1861.

64) K. Gazette, 8.2.1861.

65) BK 405 : Maclean - R. Taylor (Resident Magistrate), 24.5.1855, p.397.

66) BK 105 : Proceedings of a Court assembled at King William's Town on Wednesday 30th June 1858 ... signed by J. Ayliff, President.

67) BK14 : Barrington - Maclean, 19.5.1859.

68) K. Gazette, 25.6.1861 (Local and Colonial).

b. Negative Effects of Acculturation:

As has already been shown and as will become more apparent later in this thesis, the contact between the Xhosa and the Europeans undoubtedly had a beneficial effect on the Black population.

However, acculturation had its negative side too. The first large-scale local contact between the Xhosa and the Europeans was after the founding of King William's Town in 1835, when the military introduced the Xhosa to liquor and other social evils. John Brownlee wrote in January 1836 that this resulted in reducing the Blacks from wealth to poverty; they were even suffering from famine.⁶⁹⁾ Xhosa prostitutes soon also became a problem to the authorities. In 1856 the District Surgeon suggested that they should be allowed to erect huts and live in a local village under proper supervision.⁷⁰⁾ Syphilis was not uncommon under these circumstances, but could be treated effectively at King William's Town's Native Hospital.⁷¹⁾

Undoubtedly the worst social evil resulting from the local contact between the Xhosa and the Europeans was drunkenness. However, it must be borne in mind that in the 1850 s the abuse of intoxicating liquors was a general problem among King William's Town's Black and White population.⁷²⁾ Although the drinking of "Kaffir" beer was customary among all the Xhosa, it was a mild inebriant and usually drunk on social occasions.⁷³⁾ The stringent prohibitory measures against the sale of liquor to the Blacks applied to this traditional drink too.⁷⁴⁾

69) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, p.96.

70) BK 377 : Schedule 328 : Maclean - Grey, 20.9.1856 (See also Chapter III).

71) BK 109 : Government Notice 20, 11.7.1859, p.135; BK 101 : Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 1.2.1860, 20.7.1860.

72) BK 95: Memorandum on Spirit Licences, Maclean, ca. October 1857 (n.d.).

73) Soga : The Ama-Xhosa, p.399.

74) K. Gazette, 15.7.1861 (See also Chapter VII).

Frequent newspaper reports appeared of intoxication among the Xhosa and it was obvious that the prohibition laws did not prevent anyone from obtaining liquor illegally. One person stated that the sight of Blacks with bottles of Cape brandy was an almost daily event.⁷⁵⁾ Another report referred to the regular "debauchery" in Berkeley Street.⁷⁶⁾ In November 1860 a local correspondent expressed his dissatisfaction with the scenes of drunkenness and the inability of the authorities to do anything about it:

"... We are now greatly annoyed by drunken Kafirs returning home of an evening about sundown, often very noisy, and likely ... to become very offensive and even dangerous ...

"It would be great fun to see a drunken Kafir caught and very satisfactory to see any other drunken fellow locked up. " ⁷⁷⁾

In some instances intoxication led to quarrels. In July 1855 an argument arose among a number of drunken Xhosa. When the Kaffir Police stepped in, a fight broke out in which "knobkerries" were used freely. With the assistance of volunteers the police eventually got the upper hand. Chief Tolo and about five of his followers were involved in the fracas. The local correspondent of the Graham's Town Journal, in reporting on this fight, felt that there should be a regulation that all "knobkerries" be deposited outside the town, as it was impossible to prevent Xhosa from obtaining liquor.⁷⁸⁾ A few weeks later a similar but less serious incident occurred as a result of drunkenness. The local hotel proprietors then came in for considerable blame; it was general knowledge that some of them supplied the Xhosa illegally with liquor.⁷⁹⁾

75) K. Gazette, 7.8.1860 (Extra).

76) K. Gazette, 14.9.1860.

77) K. Gazette, 16.11.1860 (Undated letter by "Civis Weltburger").

78) G. Journal, 14.8.1855 (Most of the Xhosa entering King William's Town were armed with sticks).

79) G. Journal, 8.9.1855.

c. The Europeans : Ethnocentricity and Prejudice:

The contemporary newspapers of King William's Town, as well as official documents, shed interesting light on the views and attitudes of the local European population towards the Xhosa by whom they were surrounded. From these sources it is obvious that the Europeans had an ethnocentric view of their own culture and often failed to understand the traditions of the Xhosa, which differed in many respects from their own.

This attitude was already expressed in November 1850 in The Montly Messenger or Isitunywa Senyanga — the first known newspaper to be published in the Kaffrarian capital and the first Xhosa journal.⁸⁰⁾ It was ironic that a month before the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War the editor could state :

"Whilst a few restless and dissatisfied spirits might prefer to cross the Kei, the remainder would settle down under British rule, influenced by the advantages which they enjoy in consequence of the protection afforded to individual rights."⁸¹⁾

Until 1856 the Graham's Town Journal remained the most widely read newspaper in King William's Town. It had a local correspondent who regularly submitted news items; these were by their nature short and general views about the Xhosa were hardly ever reflected. On one occasion, when reporting on a case of desertion from the Kaffrarian capital, the correspondent did nevertheless admit that it was not safe to locate the Xhosa near the Hottentots, as the latter would then revert to "barbarism!"⁸²⁾ In the Graham's Town Journal's issue of 21 June 1856 the owners, Robert Godlonton and Robert White, announced their decision to establish an independent newspaper in the Kaffrarian capital, to be called the King William's Town Gazette and Border Intelligencer. They stated that the newspaper would give authentic accounts of the mind and feelings of the

80) J. Denfield : Century of Newspaper History on the Border (The Coelacanth, March 1964, pp. 7-8).

81) The Monthly Messenger, November 1850, p.16.

82) G. Journal, 19.1.1856.

Xhosa tribes and promote civilization.

The first issue of the Gazette appeared on 14 August. In this number the editor stressed the importance of having a newspaper for King William's Town and for British Kaffraria as a whole — a territory passing from barbarism to civilization. One of the Gazette's main aims would be to support the Government which had a great mission to uplift the Xhosa from a dangerous to a safe and useful community.

Despite the publication of several other local newspapers, the King William's Town Gazette remained the foremost in influence in British Kaffraria until the 1860 s. It maintained a high standard, but its cultural bias became obvious from time to time. In one of its early issues the Gazette's editor addressed the following remarks to King William's Town's European inhabitants:

"It is true that it is a young town, but ... it is inhabited by the true Anglo-Saxon race — men of business, of energy, of decision, of enterprize — men who are ready to carry onward the work of civilization, at all hazards ...
 "...We must work in harmony, for we are pioneers in a great work, and in order to conquer must be united." 83)

In January 1858 the newspaper recalled the establishment of the Kaffrarian capital by the "lords of creation" barely twelve years previously. The editor stated " ... a few months sufficed to render lively with civilized beings a country that was previously but the haunt of the savage ..." 84)
 Two years later King William's Town's inhabitants were again reminded that they were living "... in the very midst of barbarous hordes ..." 85)

83) K. Gazette, 25.9.1856.

84) K. Gazette, 16.1.1858 (Leader).

85) K. Gazette, 19.5.1860.

Although usually referring to the Xhosa as "Kaffirs" (and to a lesser extent "Natives"), the King William's Town Gazette did occasionally use derogatory terms like "savages", "barbarians" and even "darkies". The use of adjectives such as "uncivilized", "barbarous" and "lazy" were also not uncommon.⁸⁶⁾ The Gazette was particularly concerned about the Xhosa's so-called laziness and on one occasion jibed that they had a far greater aptitude for theft than for work.⁸⁷⁾ On another occasion the editor stated:

"The Kafir is so thoroughly lazy that the height of his ambition is to bask in the sun during the entire day, and nothing but stern necessity would induce him to deny himself this privilege."⁸⁸⁾

The ethnocentric attitude of the local Europeans towards the Xhosa was also reflected in letters — some sarcastic — published in the Gazette. This influential medium was therefore on the whole not concerned with the Xhosa's traditions — or for that matter in Black readership.⁸⁹⁾ However, the authorities did in a few exceptional cases publish Government Notices in the Gazette in Xhosa.

Despite its shortcomings, the King William's Town Gazette remains the most important and most accurate unofficial source of contemporary information about the Xhosa for the period under consideration. During a catastrophe like the cattle-killing delusion this newspaper also showed a deep compassion for the suffering Xhosa in and around the Kaffrarian capital.

The three German newspapers published in King William's Town between 1857 and 1858, provide other valuable sources of contemporary information. The

86) K. Gazette, 21.8.1856, 5.5.1860, 27.7.1860 (Local and Colonial), 17.8.1860, etc.

87) K. Gazette, 5.5.1860 (See also K. Gazette, 21.8.1856 — Leader).

88) K. Gazette, 12.12.1857 (Leader).

89) No advertisements or any other form of communication from the Xhosa ever appeared in the Gazette between 1856 and 1861.

first of these, the Germania, appeared from April 1857 to January 1858. One of its features was the regular publication of Xhosa vocabulary.⁹⁰⁾ This modest weekly newspaper was superseded in January 1858 by the Anglo-Germania, which was published in English "... to engraft a true generous feeling between the two great races that now occupy the soil."⁹¹⁾ The publication of this paper ceased in March.⁹²⁾ The Deutscher Beobachter in Süd-Afrika was again in German and also had a short-lived existence — it only appeared between June and September 1858.⁹³⁾

From a study of the contents of these three newspapers, it is obvious that they were less biased in their outlook than the King William's Town Gazette. These publications used the generally accepted term of "Kaffirs" (Kaffern) but were seldom derogatory in their description of the Xhosa and their customs. Despite the papers' short existence, they are particularly useful on the cattle-killing catastrophe and on some of Sir George Grey's administrative measures and their effects on the Xhosa.

The missionaries and ministers of religion were a very influential element in King William's Town's population in those pioneering days. Their general attitude was that the salvation of the Blacks lay not only in a belief in God but also in the adoption of their own "civilized" way of life.⁹⁴⁾ John Brownlee often complained about the barbarous customs of the heathen.⁹⁵⁾ In June 1856 the Reverends James Watkins and George Chapman were among those inhabitants who presented an address of welcome to Grey on his second visit to the town. They expressed their appreciation for his measures to civilize the Xhosa which had raised "... the cheering and not distant prospect of thousands of the heathen by whom we are surrounded being brought to that light where salvation is to be found."⁹⁶⁾

90) Germania, 8.4.1857.

91) Germania, 5.12.1857 - Supplement (They obviously meant the English and German "races").

92) J. Denfield : Century of Newspaper History (The Coelacanth, March 1964, pp. 11).

93) Deutscher Beobachter in Süd-Africa, 1.6.1857, 4.9.1858.

94) Saunders and Derricourt (eds.) : Beyond the Cape Frontier, p.200.

95) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, p.115.

96) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). Corresp. re Kaffirs, 1856 - 7: Grey - Labouchere, 14.7.1856 (Enclosure 1 : Memorial dated 11 June 1856 and signed by the Revs. J. Watkins, G. Chapman and 79 others), p.47.

Sir George Grey and some senior Government officials in British Kaffraria also tended to be ethnocentric in their attitudes. Grey himself did not shrink from referring to the Xhosa as "barbarous neighbours" and to their "barbarous mode of justice". He saw his own measures as "civilizing" influences, although he attempted to base them on traditional customs.⁹⁷⁾ Colonel Maclean and Charles Brownlee had an intimate knowledge and understanding of the Xhosa's culture and seldom referred to it in a derogatory manner. They were largely responsible for the publication in 1858 of "A Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs" — the first proper and systematic attempt to describe the Xhosa's legal system and traditions.⁹⁸⁾

Other senior Kaffrarian officials were more biased in their outlook. Henry Barrington, President of the Criminal Court and legal adviser to Maclean, expressed doubt as to whether the laws of " ... a Christian and civilized people ..." should be applied to certain offences committed by the Blacks.⁹⁹⁾ He also thought that the marriage customs of the Xhosa were barbarous and that no form of oath was binding on the "wild Kaffirs".¹⁰⁰⁾ The fully integrated hospital facilities in King William's Town once led Fitz Gerald to remark that this resulted in the Europeans being "... obliged to mix up with the wild Kaffirs in their unwashed, and dirty state ..." ¹⁰¹⁾ He admitted that because of their prejudices the "lower classes" of Whites were unsuited to nurse the Xhosa.¹⁰²⁾ (The local Europeans' bias was again evident when viruses against smallpox were extracted from Xhosa pustules).¹⁰³⁾

Although most of the official measures affecting the Xhosa were genuine attempts aimed at their general upliftment, some of them particularly applying to King William's Town were of a discriminatory nature. In August 1849 a memorial signed by 45 local inhabitants had already requested Mackinnon for "... the removal from the Rayon of all Kafir Habitations, and

97) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7: Grey - Labouchere, 18.10.1856, p.39; GH 30/4 : Grey - Maclean, 26.7.1855, pp. 125 - 126.

98) Bergh : Charles Brownlee, p.561.

99) BK 14 : Verdict by H. Barrington, 10.9.1856.

100) BK 14 : Barrington - Maclean, 14.4.1858.

101) BK 100 : Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 17.7.1858.

102) BK 100 : Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 6.12.1856.

103) K. Gazette, 6.11.1858 (Notes of the Week).

Expulsion from the town after Sun Set, of all Kafirs others than those in direct Service of parties resident on the post, and lodging them as such ... It is notorious the great numbers that congregate and live in the Huts at the back of Smith Street ..." ¹⁰⁴⁾ Mackinnon promised the memorialists that he would "... give orders to the Kaffirs located near the town to return to their tribes; directing the police constables to make prisoners of all Kaffirs seen about after sun-set, unless furnished with a ticket..." ¹⁰⁵⁾

The British Kaffrarian regulations published in September 1855 also stipulated that no Xhosa would be allowed without a pass at any post after sunset. ¹⁰⁶⁾ This measure was not always strictly enforced and sometimes led to increases in the number of local burglaries; in November 1860 a daring robbery was reported at a shop in the German Village and the spoors subsequently traced to an adjoining Xhosa village. An attempt was also made to break into the house of the Gazette's editor. It was not surprising to read afterwards in the newspaper that no Xhosa (except servants) should be allowed in the town after dark. ¹⁰⁷⁾

Chief Tzatzoe and his family originally lived among the Europeans in King William's Town. After his expulsion in about 1850, residential segregation became a fixed social pattern in the Kaffrarian capital. ¹⁰⁸⁾ The prohibition on the sale of any intoxicating liquor to the "coloured" races can also be regarded as discriminatory, although the authorities firmly believed that the measure was essential to combat a major social evil. ¹⁰⁹⁾

The segregation measures in the Kaffrarian capital affected the dead too. The local cemetery which already existed in 1847, was divided in two distinct sections. ¹¹⁰⁾ A plan of 1857 shows the European cemetery and a "Grave Yard for Natives" immediately east of it in the vicinity of the Mule Train barracks. ¹¹¹⁾

104) BK 434 : W. Webb and 45 other signatories - Mackinnon, 22.8.1849.

105) BK 403 : Maclean - W. Webb and others, 24.8.1849, p.480.

106) G. Journal, 29.9.1855.

107) K. Gazette, 27.11.1860 (Extra).

108) BK 405 : Mackinnon - G. Blaine, 8.1.1851, p.141.

109) See also Chapter VII.

110) BK 66 : Taylor (Resident Magistrate) - Maclean, 14.9.1859.

111) M3/404 : Plan showing outer boundaries of Ordnance Reserve, 10.1.1857.

Especially in 1857 large numbers of Xhosa who had died as a result of the cattle-killing mania were interred there. ¹¹²⁾

Complaints about a stench in the vicinity of the Mule Train establishment led to official inspections of the "Native Burial Ground" in September and October 1857. The District Surgeon and Chief Constable could not detect any unpleasant smell, but recommended that a fence be erected to keep out the pigs and cattle and to prevent the Hottentots from using the graveyard as a privy. ¹¹³⁾ The conditions at the "Native" cemetery again led to criticism in 1860. The local Gazette stated:

"That portion of the ground in which the natives are interred is utterly unprotected and otherwise shamefully neglected. A hasty interment by the gaol-gangs who are naturally indifferent as to the depth of the graves, is manifestly an insufficient protection ... We view the question simply in a social light ... The well-being of a community requires that all graves should, without reference to creed or colour, be securely protected." ¹¹⁴⁾

The major administrative measures and reforms, which inevitably affected the Xhosa's social life, will be discussed in later chapters.

e. Recreation and Entertainment:

The superior attitudes of King William's Town's Europeans also featured in their exclusion of the Xhosa population from their recreational and social activities. This included entertainment, sport, societies, music and the theatre. At sporting events and celebrations, however, the Blacks were enthusiastic spectators.

The most popular forms of sport in those days were cricket and horse-racing. The first cricket match to be played in the Kaffrarian capital after the Eighth Frontier War, took place between two military teams on 9 April 1853. ¹¹⁵⁾

112) K. Gazette, 3.10.1857.

113) BK 65 : Taylor - Maclean, 25.9.1857; BK 406 : Maclean - Taylor, 14.10.1857, p.289.

114) K. Gazette, 26.10.1860 (After this report no further complaints were received).

115) G. Journal, 16.4.1853 (All the matches were originally between military teams).

In a subsequent return match most of the spectators were Xhosa. They reportedly showed a lively interest in the game.¹¹⁶⁾ At the first civilian match in December 1859 (between two teams of the newly formed King William's Town Cricket Club) there were again Xhosa among the many spectators.¹¹⁷⁾

The first race course in King William's Town existed in 1852 and from the outset the Xhosa were very fond of horse-racing.¹¹⁸⁾ During the September races of 1860 some of the Europeans hired "Kaffir horses" one evening to ride for their own enjoyment. A quarrel started when one Xhosa declined to give up his horse after having been paid for it. In the ensuing fight the Black used his "kerrie" to good effect, but he was soon subdued "... by the sound trouncing that was freely administered to him."¹¹⁹⁾ The race meeting in April 1861 was enlivened on the fourth day by "Kaffir races" on horse-back and on foot.¹²⁰⁾

The Xhosa could not compete in other outdoor sport like hunting and athletics. The same applied to billiards, which was a popular pastime at several of the local hotels. The military community was in itself an exclusive society and functions like public balls and dinners were usually only attended by officers and the leading civilians.

For its size King William's Town had a surprising number of active societies. The most important of these were the British Kaffrarian Brethren Benefit Society, the Freemasons, the General Institute (succeeded later by the Young Men's Institute), the Total Abstinence Society and the British Kaffrarian Agricultural Society.¹²¹⁾ Although these societies were aimed at either the moral, intellectual, economic or social upliftment of the community, they were exclusively for the benefit of the Europeans. This was particularly ironical in the case of the Abstinence Society and the

116) G. Journal, 11.6.1853.

117) K. Gazette, 17.12.1859 (Notes of the Week).

118) BK 95 : Maj. Genl. Yorke - Maclean, 28.8.1852.

119) K. Gazette, 5.10.1861 (Local and Colonial).

120) K. Gazette, 9.4.1861.

121) K. Gazette, 16.5.1857, 29.8.1857, 23.6.1860, 31.7.1860, 9.4.1861, etc.

Agricultural Society.

The most obvious social activities were the regular open-air performances of the military bands. Most of the performances took place on the green in front of the Commandant's house or at the regimental mess-house.¹²²⁾ These occasions were often attended by Xhosa, who were not always well-behaved. This led to complaints to the editor of the King William's Town Gazette, who eventually recommended in July 1860 that measures be taken to prevent the "natives" from congregating at the performances. They were considered not only to be an annoyance to the band and those inhabitants who might wish to listen "... but also of disgrace to the community at large, and we therefore strongly urge its immediate suppression."¹²³⁾

Theatre was surprisingly popular among the European population; in 1861 there were no fewer than four local theatrical groups.¹²⁴⁾ Judging from newspaper reports the performances were fairly regular and always well attended. Xhosa were apparently not ~~admitted~~. In September 1857 the "Garrison Amateur Theatricals" donated the proceeds of their performance to the "Kaffir Relief Fund".¹²⁵⁾ Concerts were not a regular form of entertainment in King William's Town but they were equally popular. One of the highlights was a concert given in July 1858 by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, who performed on five different instruments. His turban and other Oriental attire must have captivated the audience — among them Nehemiah, son of Moshesh.¹²⁶⁾ This was the only reference to a Black attending any local indoor entertainment.

122) K. Gazette, 28.8.1858, 5.6.1860 (Extra).

123) K. Gazette, 27.7.1860.

124) Eastern Province Herald, 30.8.1861.

125) K. Gazette, 12.9.1857.

126) Deutscher Beobachter, 10.7.1858.

Military parades and celebrations provided local excitement to both Xhosa and European onlookers. General military inspections were held regularly and with the large garrison, the parading of the troops were always impressive. The first of these inspections after the Eighth Frontier War took place on 10 May 1853. The correspondent of the Graham's Town Journal subsequently reported:

"The Kaffirs look on with wonder at this reviewing, exercising, charging, firing, & c and cannot understand what 'the Johnnies' are about." 127)

A special parade was held on 1 November 1858 when Colonel Pringle Taylor, commanding officer for British Kaffraria, presented Sergeant Peter Leitch of the Royal Engineers with a Victoria Cross, won during the Crimean War. The ceremony was attended by a large crowd including many Xhosa who watched in awe from a distance. 128)

A joyous local celebration took place on 18 November 1855, following the announcement of the fall of Sebastopol. A special feature was a review of troops which large numbers of Xhosa watched from the hillsides, anxiously enquiring about its objects. 129) Festivities on a larger scale followed on 13 June 1856 — a public holiday to celebrate the signing of peace after the Crimean War. Flags flew everywhere, guns and crackers were fired, bonfires were lit, pedestrians and equestrians ran and drove around and in the evening transparencies were exhibited. The Xhosa once again were interested spectators. 130) This was the case too with the annual celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday on 24 May. 131) The musters of grantee farmers which were held from 1858 to coincide with the Queen's birthday, usually caused a stir and excitement among all population groups.

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- 127) G. Journal, 14.5.1853.
 128) K. Gazette, 2.11.1858 (Extra).
 129) G. Journal, 22.12.1855.
 130) G. Journal, 21.6.1856.
 131) Germania, 27.5.1857.

Undoubtedly the social highlight of that era was Prince Alfred's visit to King William's Town on 13 August 1860. This young sailor prince and his entourage, including Sir George Grey, was welcomed on his arrival by thousands of enthusiastic European inhabitants and Xhosa — among them several chiefs. They thronged the streets and pressed forward to get a glimpse of the illustrious visitor:

"People of nearly all nations, creeds, and colours, from England's Prince to humblest plebeians or the swarthy aborigines of the country, hurried forward en foule. The shouts of triumph of the assembled thousands, from the hearty English 'Hurrah!' to the long-drawn note of exclamation of the Kafir, caused the hills and valleys to re echo for miles around ..." 132)

The procession passed through four triumphal arches in Smith Street, the third of which was erected and adorned by Blacks.¹³³⁾ Three bee-hive huts were placed on this arch, beneath which was the motto "Bota Inkosi" (Welcome Prince!).¹³⁴⁾ Behind the arch more than a thousand Xhosa children were congregated on Prince Alfred Square¹³⁵⁾ under different banners. On the left of the Square several thousand Xhosa adults were gathered — all dressed in European clothes.¹³⁶⁾

Prince Alfred later received several deputations who delivered addresses of welcome to him. Among these was a deputation of Xhosa Christians from King William's Town and Peelson, accompanied by the Reverends Brownlee, Holden and three other missionaries. An enthusiastic address was then read:

"We ... are glad to day because we see with our eyes the son of our great Queen and we thank that she has thought of native children, in this land, far away ... It was not so, that the English came out of the ground like ants ... Now we see the Queen's son and our hearts are quiet. We who have been taught by the word of God to love our Queen ...

132) K. Gazette, 17.8.1860.

133) K. Gazette, 7.8.1860 (Extra), 17.8.1860.

134) The same motif was depicted on British Kaffraria's coat-of-arms and later on the municipal crest.

135) This square was formerly known as Market Square, but was renamed in honour of Prince Alfred's visit. The new name was already used on 17 August by the local Gazette.

136) The Progress of Prince Alfred throughout South Africa, p.58.

"Welcome! Welcome!! Welcome !!! to us the son of our Queen." 137)

The same deputation shortly afterwards also presented Grey with an address:

"You know us, and our ways, and our wants ... You have given the great house (Hospital) for the sickness of our bodies ... but we want more schools, many of our people are very wild, and have many bad ways, we want that they should put away all heathen ways, and learn to be good christians.." 138)

Later in the afternoon Prince Alfred and his party visited the new Native Hospital, inspecting all the wards which was almost exclusively occupied by Xhosa patients. The sixteen-year old prince was accompanied on this occasion by Fitz Gerald and his senior staff. Prince Alfred expressed himself highly pleased with the institution. The royal party eventually left the Kaffrarian capital early on the morning of 14 August, amidst a large crowd of cheering Xhosa and Europeans. 139)

By 1854 the traditional customs of the Xhosa living in and around King William's Town were therefore extensively affected by European contact. During Sir George Grey's High Commissionership the pace of acculturation was hastened through his policy of progressive detribalization and "civilization". The Ama Ntinde tribe under Chief Jan Tzatzoe was particularly affected by Grey's land and legal reforms. Although this tribe was very small, Tzatzoe played a leading rôle in King William's Town's early history.

137) K. Gazette, 17.8.1860.

138) K. Gazette, 17.8.1860.

139) K. Gazette, 17.8.1860 (During his short stay one of the local businessmen, J. Spyron, provided Prince Alfred with a supply of "Kaffir curiosities" — BK 408: Maclean — Spyron, 18.8.1860, p.366).

JAN TZATZOE, THE AMA NTINDE TRIBE AND THEIR TERRITORYa. Tzatzoe and his tribe:

Jan Tzatzoe was born about 1795 as the son of the Ama Ntinde Chief Tzatzoe.¹⁾ According to some sources, he was initially also known as Dyani²⁾ or Christiaan,³⁾ but in later official documents he was invariably referred to as Jan. As a boy Tzatzoe showed much promise and in about 1804 his father took him to Dr J.T. Van der Kemp at the newly established Bethelsdorp Mission Station to further his education. There " ... he was taught to read and write - he likewise learnt the carpenters trade".⁴⁾ Tzatzoe also acquired a knowledge of the Dutch language. He was later baptized and in 1815 converted to the Christian faith.⁵⁾

Early in 1816 the young Tzatzoe accompanied the pioneer missionary, Joseph Williams, whom he assisted to establish the Kat River Mission near Fort Beaufort.⁶⁾ Williams died in August 1818 and after an interval of two years Jan joined the Reverend John Brownlee as interpreter and missionary assistant at his newly founded Tyumie Mission. By that time he had already married a Hottentot from Bethelsdorp. This was the beginning of Tzatzoe's long association with Brownlee.

Although Tzatzoe later went to Theophilus he still visited the Tyumie from time to time to act as interpreter for travellers.⁷⁾ In this capacity he accompanied the Wesleyan preachers William Shaw, Stephen Kay and William Threlfall in August 1822 to his own father's kraal on the site of the present King William's Town. The Wesleyans found the Ama Ntinde tribe more primitive than the others they had encountered on their journeys.⁸⁾

- 1) Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, 11, p.8.
- 2) W.H. Hammond - Tooke: The Tribes of King William's Town District, p.104.
- 3) G. Cory: The Rise of South Africa, VI, p.314; D.S.A.B., 11, p.751.
- 4) BK 89: Gaika Commissioner's (Charles Brownlee) report of the Chief Jan Tzatzoe 18.2.1855.
- 5) D.S.A.B., 11, p.751.
- 6) J. Du Plessis: Christian Missions in South Africa, p.247.
- 7) J. Sales: Mission Stations and Coloured Communities in the Eastern Cape, p.98; J. Bergh: Die Lewe van Charles Brownlee tot 1857, p.23.
- 8) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p.43.



Chief Jan Tzatzoe
(left) and other
members of the de-
putation who appear-
ed before the Abori-
gines Committee in
1836.

Probably influenced by Tzatzoe in his choice, John Brownlee left Tyumie at the beginning of 1826 to establish a new mission station on the eastern bank of the Buffalo River among Jan's father's people. The Brownlee party arrived there on 20 January 1826. The kraal of Tzatzoe the elder was on the opposite side of the river.⁹⁾ The Ama Ntindes was then an insignificant tribe numbering about 1000 people.¹⁰⁾ Jan Tzatzoe's father was very pleased with the new development, especially since his own son could assist with the upliftment and religious instruction of the Ama Ntinde tribe. Old Tzatzoe had already urged Joseph Williams to settle among his people. This was when Williams, accompanied by Jan and James Reid, went to interview the various tribes in 1816 with a view to selecting a site for a mission station.¹¹⁾

Among the many duties with which the young Tzatzoe assisted John Brownlee, was to visit surrounding kraals. He also taught the Brownlees Xhosa and helped with the translation of parts of the Scriptures into Xhosa.¹²⁾ At the beginning of 1828 Jan and his missionary friend also found themselves face to face with a serious case of witchcraft, following the illness of Soko, a brother of Tzatzoe. Two of those accused of trying to destroy Soko through witchcraft eventually died after torture. Jan found himself powerless against the strong influence of the traditional Xhosa customs.¹³⁾

About this time Jan Tzatzoe succeeded his father as chief of the Ama Ntinde tribe.¹⁴⁾ Old Tzatzoe and one of his sons later went

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- 9) Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p.22,24.
 10) G.M. Theal: History of South Africa since 1795, VI, p.98.
 11) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p.64.
 12) Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p.23.
 13) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p.76-82.
 14) D.S.A.B., II, p.752.

to live on the Mission Station in the face of strong opposition from the tribe. Another positive sign of the Christian influence on Jan's family was the fact that one of his brothers was among the six communicants, as well as one of two candidates for baptism in 1832. His daughter, Mary, also started an infant school at the Buffalo Mission. ¹⁵⁾ At the end of 1833 Tzatzoe's father, however, again moved away from the Station on the death of a son ¹⁶⁾ — probably Soko.

After the outbreak of the Sixth Frontier War in December 1834, the young chief remained determined to remain neutral. This decision almost led to a skirmish when, one day, the war-cry of the Gaikas resounded on the hills around Brownlee's Mission. A scene of great confusion followed as one of Tzatzoe's brothers and a part of the Ama Ntinde tribe decided to join the Gaikas. Turning out with shields, assegais and war-plumes, they threatened to attack those who had remained loyal to Jan. In the midst of the chaos, Tzatzoe offered to take the missionary and his family along in his wagon. The Brownlees, however, refused to flee, whereupon the Chief left. Only three of his men remained on the Mission. The Brownlees and Kirkmans (a trader family) shortly afterwards also had to leave for Wesleyville under cover of night. ¹⁷⁾ For part of the war they were protected by some of Jan's followers and on the following night they stayed at Tzatzoe's camp near Wesleyville.

After the conclusion of peace in September 1835, one of Colonel Harry Smith's many tasks was to arrange a meeting of chiefs and their followers for the formal introduction and inauguration of his regime in the newly established Province of Queen Adelaide. At this meeting, which took place on 7 January 1836 at King William's Town on the site of the Buffalo Mission, Jan Tzatzoe was among the chiefs who were sworn in as "magistrates". All the chiefs were dressed in blue coats and trousers with black velveteen waistcoats. ¹⁸⁾

15) Holt: *Greatheart of the Border*, pp.82-83.

16) Bergh: *Charles Brownlee*, p.30.

17) C.Brownlee: *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History*, pp.25-41.

18) Cory: *The Rise of South Africa*, III, p.244.

Tzatzoe was described on this occasion by George Greig of the South African Commercial Advertiser in the following words:

"This Chief is said to be more advanced than any of the others. He has, in fact, stepped up to the agricultural state; he too has but one wife, and has long been conspicuous for encouraging improvement among his people, by means of Missionaries, &c".¹⁹⁾

In January 1836 Chief Tzatzoe secretly left King William's Town and his new magistracy behind to join Dr. John Philip at Bethelsdorp.²⁰⁾ Jan eventually left for England with Philip, Read and his son, as well as the Hottentot Andries Stoffels. The main purpose of their visit was to give evidence before the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons in London. During these sessions Tzatzoe declared that Sir Benjamin D'Urban had deprived him of part of his lands so as to found King William's Town.²¹⁾ He added that his house had been turned into stables by Col. Smith. During a subsequent tour through England Tzatzoe and Stoffels addressed religious meetings and were lavishly entertained. On these occasions Jan wore a regal blue and gold uniform.²²⁾ Charles Brownlee, son of John Brownlee and Gaika Commissioner, in 1855 said of this visit and its effects on Jan:

"He was passed off as an important Chief, and encouraged to make statements regarding grievances and oppressions towards his tribe and Nation, which grievances did not exist. Jan returned to Kaffraria a changed man, he had learnt to love wine, and to this visit is his ruin to be attributed".²³⁾

The philanthropic spirit in Britain which was so evident on this occasion led to the retrocession of the Province of Queen Adelaide at the end of 1836. The troops were subsequently withdrawn from King William's Town and Brownlee returned to re-establish his former Mission.²⁴⁾ At that stage the Ama Ntinde Chief had not yet arrived from England, but Brownlee was ably assisted by Tushi.²⁵⁾

19) W. Boyce: Notes on South African Affairs, p.35.

20) Cory: The Rise of South Africa, 111, p.274.

21) D.S.A.B., 11, p.75.

22) J. Lehmann: Remember You Are An Englishman, pp. 189-190.

23) BK 89: Gaika Commissioner's report of the Chief Jan Tzatzoe, 18.2.1855.

24) Cory: Rise of South Africa, 111, pp.373-375.

25) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, pp.96-97.

After Jan Tzatzoe's return to King William's Town early in 1838, Brownlee soon noticed the change that had come over him. The missionary wrote on 15 October that Jan was under the influence of his relatives and the superior chiefs. He was then looked up to as the traditional leader of the Ama Ntinde tribe, his elder brother and a son having died and his father reaching an advanced age. Brownlee soon also doubted Tzatzoe's zeal and example as a Christian. ²⁶⁾

An important event for the Mission at King William's Town was the visit in February 1839 of the Rev. James Backhouse and George Walker, both active members of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Backhouse remarked that the town had the aspect of an English village and that Tzatzoe occupied one of the houses. After his subsequent visit to the Chief, Backhouse described the latter as the most enlightened Black that he and Walker had met. The house of Jan and his Hottentot wife was furnished sparingly but differed greatly from the ordinary Xhosa hut. Tzatzoe's father and uncle lived in a neighbouring cottage in the traditional style. During their visit Jan acted as interpreter and was also observed conducting religious meetings and classes with two other Xhosa teachers at nearby kraals. ²⁷⁾

In 1842 there was a major crisis at the Buffalo Mission due to a severe outbreak of smallpox. Large numbers of Blacks arrived to be vaccinated, but in many cases it was too late for medical treatment. Among the Ama Ntinde tribe alone more than 160 persons died. Otherwise the first part of the 1840's passed uneventfully, with the traditional initiation ceremonies for the Xhosa youths being Brownlee's main worry. The missionary expressed particular concern at the circumcision of Jan's younger son and at Mary Tzatzoe attending this ceremony. ²⁸⁾

26) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp.100-102.

27) J. Backhouse : A Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa, pp. 236-240.

28) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp.111-114.

John Brownlee reported to the London Missionary Society on 27 December 1844 that he had often spoken to Tzatzoe about the evil influences of these initiation rites. He also gave details of his economic position:

"While he allows the truth and importance of what is told him, he confesses his inability from the influence exerted on the children to keep them in subjection.

"I may also mention that from the state of John's family and numbers of John's relations constantly around him, he possesses but little of what we call the comforts of life. What he purchases is quickly consumed and, having got involved, he is obliged to buy from the traders here, to whom he is indebted at a high percentage. It is true he has a number of cattle, and when milk is abundant the family find support from that source...I may state I know of no person who stands more in need of your sympathy, and there is no circumstance connected with this Mission that has given me more anxiety than the state of John's family, and, it has often been a cause of sorrow to the other members of the Church".²⁹⁾

At the outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War early in 1846, the Brownlees and Tzatzoe again had to vacate their homes. This time the Ama Ntinde Chief and a number of his followers joined the Gaikas, after initially remaining neutral. On 27 and 28 May Jan even took part in an unsuccessful attack on Fort Peddie.³⁰⁾ In a report written in 1855 Charles Brownlee indicated the results of Tzatzoe's action and his general position prior to the War. He stated:

"He was in consequence cut off from direct Church membership by the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, and has not since sought readmission...Up to the war of 1846 Jan made a consistent profession of Christianity, he built a house for himself in the European style, and planted two orchards, one of which was destroyed in 1836, the other still to be seen..."³¹⁾

29) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p. 115 (After that Tzatzoe only went out on rare occasions to preach in the kraals near King William's Town).

30) D.S.A.B., 11. p.752.

31) BK 89: Gaika Commissioner's report of the Chief Jan Tzatzoe, 18.2.1855.

After the conclusion of peace Tzatzoe again returned to King William's Town. He was among the chiefs present at the important meeting which Sir Harry Smith had convened on 7 January 1848. Jan's house was apparently destroyed during the War as he later mentioned that in 1848 he went to live in an abandoned trader's residence (previously belonging to Edward Jeffries) in the newly established Kaffrarian capital. He soon had to leave with his family and friends to his land on the opposite side of the Buffalo River. This was on the orders of Col. Mackinnon, the Chief Commissioner.³²⁾ Mackinnon's reason for this expulsion was "... Tzatzoe and his Kaffirs becoming a nuisance in the place ..."³³⁾

John Brownlee himself was very disappointed at Chief Tzatzoe's behaviour during the Seventh Frontier War; he felt that this had been due to the Chief's ambition rather than any danger. In a letter written on 28 December 1848 the missionary went so far as to recommend the discontinuance of Jan's emolument which he received as agent of the London Missionary Society:

"His general want of zeal, decision of character, and Christian principle render him not a suitable agent ... What salary he received, from want of common prudence was mostly expended in supplying food and keeping in idleness a number of young heathen men ..."³⁴⁾

The third successive Frontier War within fifteen years broke out on 24 December 1850 and Tzatzoe's actions once again raised considerable doubts. He was suspected of supplying the enemy with ammunition and information, despite his declared neutrality. In June 1852 Sir George Cathcart even considered capturing the Ama Ntinde Chief after rumours that he had supplied Chief Macomo with gunpowder. In reporting this matter to the High Commissioner, Col. Mackinnon commented:

"I do not conceive that we shall be able to substantiate any charge against Tzatzoe, although it is perfectly well known to us that he is capable of committing the act attributed to him, and that he and all his people are merely partizans and Spies in the interest of the Rebel Tribes."³⁵⁾

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- 32) BK 44: Memorial by Tzatzoe to High Commissioner, 7.6.1856.
 33) BK 405: Maclean - G. Blaine, 3.1.1851, p.141.
 34) Holt: Greatheart of the Border, p.120.
 35) BK 371: Letter 24, Mackinnon - Cathcart, 10.6.1852, p.233.

Cathcart was eventually advised not to apprehend Tzatzoe because of insufficient evidence.³⁶⁾ The real position was that although a part of the Ama Ntinde tribe (estimated by the High Commissioner at about 100 persons) actively protected men and property on the British side during the War, another section was in open hostility against the British forces. The friendly faction patrolled and protected the main road between King William's Town and Fort Murray. A nephew of Tzatzoe, Genyawa, with his people also escorted wagons from Butterworth and brought slaughter-cattle down from the Kei for the use of the troops.³⁷⁾ Charles Brownlee later maintained that a total of 112 followers of Jan Tzatzoe had remained faithful at the Brownlee Mission and that the chief also occasionally supplied messengers to convey letters during the War.

Charles Brownlee estimated the size of the anti-British faction of the Ama Ntinde tribe at only 48 men. The people of only two kraals remained with the hostile Sandile until the end of the Eighth Frontier War.³⁸⁾ As a result of subsequent evidence Col. Maclean queried these figures.³⁹⁾ He thought it impossible that only 48 out of the 356 men of the tribe (according to the census of 1848) took part in the War. The doubts which Maclean expressed were confirmed by several witnesses. According to the evidence of a Xhosa called Gova, 23 kraals of the Ama Ntinde tribe joined in the War. Gova estimated that only 30 men remained faithful. Other reports referred to attacks by Tzatzoe's followers on military patrols as they left King William's Town. Even people from the Mission Station were suspected of communicating with the rebel tribes.⁴⁰⁾ There was further evidence that Jan had harboured Hottentots during the War and that he had also given them supplies and secret information.⁴¹⁾ From the evidence as a whole it seemed as if Tzatzoe wanted to please both factions of his tribe.

36) BK 1: Cathcart-Mackinnon, 15.6.1852.

37) BK 371: Letter 27, Mackinnon-Cathcart, 18.6.1852, pp. 234-235.

38) BK 89: C. Brownlee-Maclean, 18.2.1855.

39) Maclean eventually accused Brownlee of being under his father's influence and therefore subjective (Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p. 564).

40) BK 89: Undated note from Col. Maclean; evidence by Gova, 29.5.1855; evidence by Mali, 7.3.1855.

41) BK 89: Evidence by Chief Toise, 24.7.1855.

The confiscation of the Ama Ntinde's lands on the right bank of the Buffalo River as a result of the Eighth Frontier War, nevertheless came as a heavy blow to Tzatzoe.⁴²⁾ Apart from the fact that this measure meant a considerable reduction in tribal ground, Jan felt strongly that he had been unfairly treated. He therefore took the first opportunity to speak to Cathcart during the latter's visit to King William's Town in August 1853. On this occasion he professed his innocence during the recent War and claimed the confiscated land (situated within five to six miles of the town) back. Chief Tzatzoe even threatened to approach Queen Victoria because, he stated, he had money in abundance.⁴³⁾

Being so close to the Kaffrarian capital, Jan Tzatzoe had an advantage over the other chiefs because he could more easily discuss his grievances or problems with the authorities. One of these occasions was a local meeting held on 6 January 1854 when several chiefs were present. A report on this meeting in the Graham's Town Journal described Jan as being "... very sore at not getting his country back".⁴⁴⁾ One of Tzatzoe's petty chiefs expanded on this subject. When told that the land was taken away because so many of the Ama Ntinde tribe had opposed the British, his reaction was that the Government had not confiscated any ground from Pato, Umhala and several other chiefs.⁴⁵⁾ During 1855 and 1856 Chief Tzatzoe followed the matter up with two memorials which will be discussed later in this chapter.

After the Eighth Frontier War Tzatzoe's influence and stature undoubtedly declined rapidly. In religious circles he was regarded as being lost to the Christian cause and Brownlee had little further contact with him. Because of his addiction to liquor he became a degenerate.⁴⁶⁾ The senior officials also had a low opinion of the Chief, whom they regarded as untrustworthy, irrational and vacillating.⁴⁷⁾ Politically he was again regarded as a minor chief, which could, however, largely be attributed to the Ama Ntinde tribe's small numbers.⁴⁸⁾ Interestingly enough, Tzatzoe remained

42) This aspect is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

43) G. Journal, 3.9.1853.

44) G. Journal, 7.1.1854.

45) G. Journal, 7.1.1854.

46) D.S.A.B., 11, p.752.

47) See also section on the Ama Ntinde tribe's territory and Chapter IV.

48) BK 373: Letter 294, Maclean-Secretary to High Commissioner, 25.3.1857, p. 198.

fairly attached to the promotion of education.⁴⁹⁾ Because of this declining influence, Jan was hardly ever mentioned in the local newspapers or official documents. Only extremely rare and scanty glimpses of Tzatzoe are provided between 1854 and 1861.

Most of the information about Jan Tzatzoe after the Eighth Frontier War is associated with the lung-sickness and the cattle-killing delusion of 1856/1857. The disease among cattle greatly affected the Ama Ntinde tribe and many of their animals died. Jan later claimed that it had reduced his people to poverty.⁵⁰⁾ During the initial stages of the subsequent cattle-killing crisis, Tzatzoe went on a mission to other tribes, reportedly in an effort to counteract the wholesale slaughtering of cattle and the destruction of corn. This was in August 1856.⁵¹⁾ The Chief tried to influence his followers to refrain from killing, but to cultivate their gardens.⁵²⁾ He also expressed himself in favour of gathering together those tribesmen who were against the whole movement. This was to protect these so-called "Unbelievers" from attacks by destitute marauders.⁵³⁾

Throughout the cattle-killing episode Jan Tzatzoe set an excellent example — almost as if to make amends for his earlier behaviour. There is no documentary evidence that he was ever suspected of anti-Government activities during this period. He was obviously aware of the adverse effects that his suspected actions during the last War had on himself and on his tribe. In King William's Town Jan was also continually under watchful eyes and probably realised the futile consequences of any participation.

49) See Chapter 1.

50) BK 44: Memorial by Tzatzoe to Grey, 7.6.1856.

51) G. Journal, 9.8.1856.

52) BK 377: Schedule 340, Maclean-Grey, 16.10.1856, enclosing copy of R. Fielding's letter dated 15 October 1856.

53) BK 89: Fielding(Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe) - Maclean, 11.1.1857.

Tzatzoe often informed Government officials such as Col. Maclean and Captain Fielding of the activities of spies. Kreli was particularly fond of sending messengers to the Ama Ntinde Chief so as to obtain first-hand information about possible actions against him and other Xhosa chiefs.⁵⁴⁾

Chief Tzatzoe occasionally helped to apprehend thieves and handed them over to the authorities.⁵⁵⁾ Jan's assistance was also sought in tracing the murderers of Capt. Ferdinand Ohlsen. This officer of the British German Legion was found dead on 26 February 1857 on the outskirts of King William's Town. An inquest was held the same day at which two Ama Ntinde tribesmen gave evidence. The inquest's verdict was that the German had been stabbed by one or more Xhosa.⁵⁶⁾

Because the scene of the murder was in the immediate vicinity of Tzatzoe's location, Maclean approached him on 27 February 1857. He then stressed:

"This murder must be traced, and Tzatzoe is evidently deeply concerned in all that relates to the discovery of the murderers—because the police are your men and recommended by you ⁵⁷⁾—Strong suspicion is entertained as to the policemen, as this is the second thing which has occurred, close to their own kraal... The Government cannot trust your words, unless they are fulfilled by your acts—even if the men are innocent, it will be the best for the sake of your own character, that their huts should be strictly searched and the men separated and placed under surveillance ..."⁵⁸⁾

In the meantime the general administration of the Ama Ntinde tribe proceeded smoothly and uneventfully. The general jurisdiction over the tribe was

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- 54) BK 110: Diary, 19.1.1858; GH 8/50: Maclean - Grey, 21.1.1858 (When large numbers of horses and guns were later shipped in East London for India, spies from Kreli's country again visited Tzatzoe — BK 89: Secret Information).
- 55) K. Gazette, 2.10.1856.
- 56) K. Gazette, 28.2.1857.
- 57) The Chief Commissioner was referring to the village police which functioned through a system of headmen. This system was introduced by Sir George Grey in 1856 (See also Chapter VII).
- 58) BK 140: Maclean - Tzatzoe, 27.2.1857.

originally vested in the Gaika Commissioner during the first years of the existence of British Kaffraria. From March 1849, however, Maclean as Ndlambe Commissioner at Fort Murray, took charge of the Ama Ntindes' affairs for geographical reasons.⁵⁹⁾ This was the position until October 1856 when a special magistrate was appointed for Tzatzoe's tribe. Although this official's duties were mainly of a legal nature, he often gave Tzatzoe and his followers advice and assistance in all possible matters.

The special magistrate's official duties ranged from co-ordinating the collection of taxes and statistical information to the registration of guns.⁶⁰⁾ These statistical returns show that the population of the Ama Ntinde tribe had increased from 1717 persons in 1848 to 2074, spread over 80 kraals, at the end of 1857. There were also 74 registered guns in 1857. By 31 December 1858 the number of Tzatzoe's followers had dropped to 1173 persons and the number of guns to 51 as a result of the cattle-killing crisis. At the end of 1860 the tribe's population had again increased to 1691 which was largely due to the return of destitutes who had gone to the Cape Colony as labourers. At that stage there were only 41 registered guns among Jan's followers.⁶¹⁾

Although Jan Tzatzoe had shown so much promise in his earlier years and had been held up as a great Kaffrarian chief and Christian in England, he had become an unimpressive personality by the time of Sir George Grey's final departure from South Africa in August 1861. As will be seen later, this gave Grey the opportunity to introduce revolutionary administrative measures among Tzatzoe's tribe without much opposition.⁶²⁾ By 1861 this tribe's

59) BK 403: Mackinnon-Maclean (Ndlambe Commissioner), 20.3.1849, p.406.

60) See also Chapter VII).

61) GH 26/62: Census of the Gaika District, 1848 (Despatch No. 102 dated 18 October 1856); BK 114: Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 1.1.1858; BK 109: Population Returns, 1858 (Government Notice 13 dated 19 April 1858); BK 109: Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860.

62) See following section and Chapter VII).

population, as well as the size of its tribal territory, was among the smallest in British Kaffraria. Chief Tzatzoe died on 28 February 1868, the last years of his life being uneventful.⁶³⁾

The following outline of the Ama Ntinde tribe's territory and the effects of the land reforms of the 1850s on their traditional tenure system, will provide a further perspective on Jan Tzatzoe and his tribe.

b. The Tribal Area of the Ama Ntinde Tribe and the Effects of Land Reforms:

The first and foremost result of the Eighth Frontier War (1850-1853) was the drastic re-allocation of land. Sir George Cathcart's measures provided mainly for the confiscation of the land belonging to the rebellious Gaikas and the subsequent establishment of the so-called Royal Reserve. This re-allocation of ground also adversely affected chiefs such as Jan Tzatzoe, although to a lesser extent.

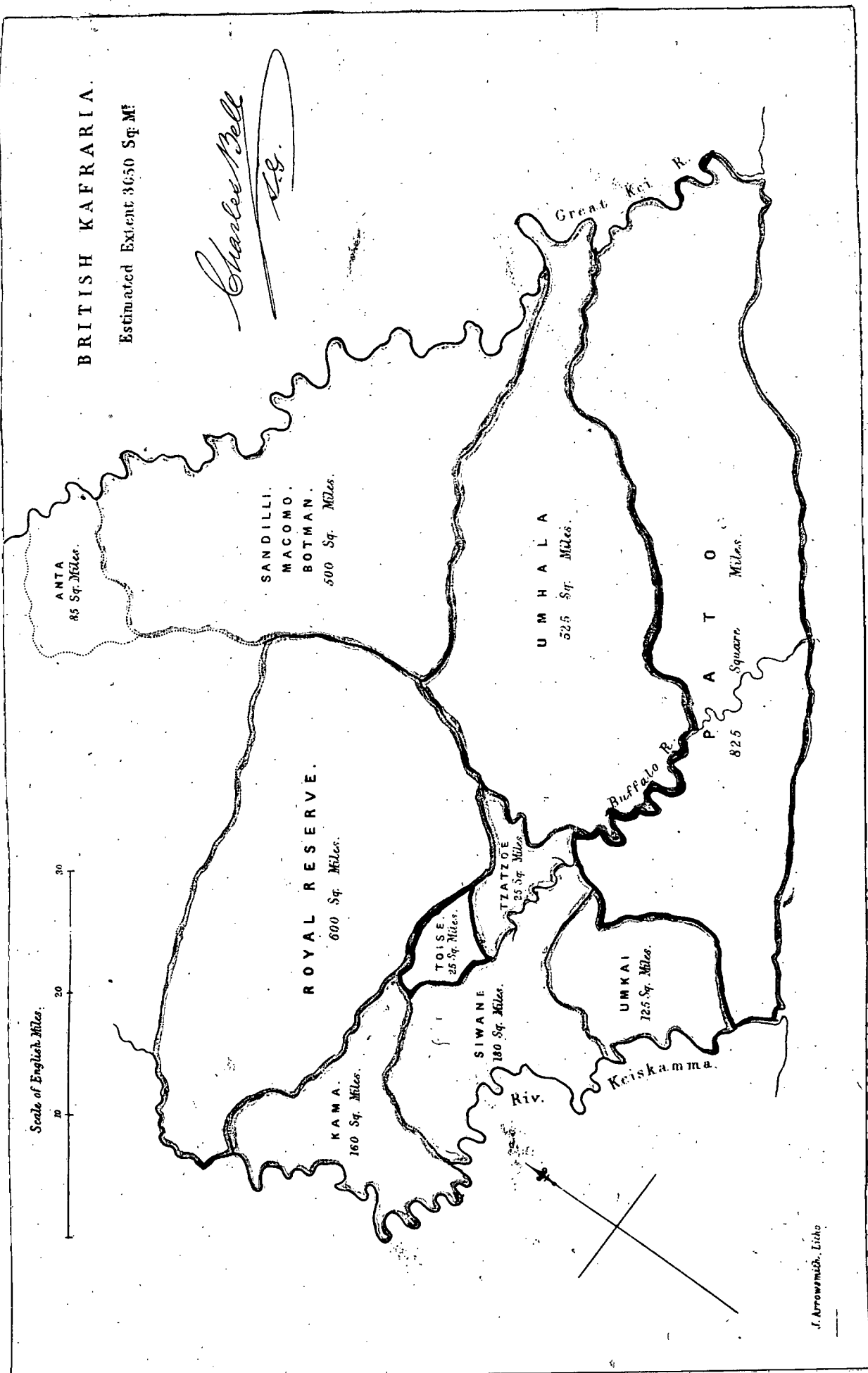
In this Chief's case he was deprived of a considerable portion of land on the right bank of the Buffalo River, because of his suspect behaviour and the hostility of some of his followers during the War. A part of the confiscated ground in the immediate vicinity of King William's Town was included in the Royal Reserve and the remainder divided between the chiefs Toise and Siwani.⁶⁴⁾ This also meant that Tzatzoe had to give up his old kraal near Izele. These drastic measures reduced the land originally apportioned to Jan in 1848 after the previous War to about twenty-five square miles.⁶⁵⁾ The remaining portion was still formally vested in the Queen in accordance with the proclamation of 23 December 1847 which declared British Kaffraria a separate province and conquered territory. This proclamation stipulated that the chiefs and their tribes would hold their land from and under the Queen according to such rules and regulations as her High Commissioner or his representative might deem fit.⁶⁶⁾

63) D.S.A.B., 11, p.751.

64) BK 89: Gaika Commissioner's report of Chief Jan Tzatzoe, 18.2.1855.

65) GH 26/2: Map of British Kaffraria signed by Charles Bell: Enclosure 2 to Despatch 102, 18.10.1856; BK 44: G. Montagu (Surveyor-General) - R. Taylor (Resident Magistrate), 10.5.1858.

66) BK 373: Maclean - W. Liddle (Private Secretary to High Commissioner), 3.3.1855, p.42.



Map of British Kaffraria, showing Tzatzoe's Tribal Territory surrounded by the Locations of Other Xhosa Chiefs, 1856.
(OPB 1/14, Cape Archives)

Although Tzatzoe's land could therefore be described theoretically as conquered land, Sir George Cathcart recognised the customary land tenure system of the Xhosa throughout British Kaffraria. This meant that all the land was vested in the chiefs. Under their communal system the tribal grounds were subdivided under petty chiefs, headmen and kraal heads, who in turn distributed the available land to male persons under their immediate jurisdiction. It was customary for the remainder of the tribal territory to be used as a communal pasturage.⁶⁷⁾ The traditional Xhosa law also prescribed that nobody had any right to alienate his or any other piece of the hereditary tribal land or to use any spot exclusively as grazing ground.⁶⁸⁾

This system of land ownership was in general use among the Ama Ntinde tribe until well after the end of the Eighth Frontier War in 1853. This was therefore prior to the general introduction by Sir George Grey of individual ownership and the village system, although the latter idea was not completely foreign to King William's Town. The first local settlement that could be described as a village was at the Brownlee Mission. In June 1848 Colonel Mackinnon also recommended the establishment of a Black village in the immediate vicinity of the town. All the Blacks around the Kaffrarian capital were instructed to apply immediately for huts in this village, as the existing huts within the military radius of two miles would be destroyed after 15 June.⁶⁹⁾ In August 1849 this cluster of huts was described in a memorial signed by 46 European inhabitants of the town as " ... forming a receptacle for Stolen Goods and Robbers, without in the least benefitting the Town - for which object they were permitted to Locate themselves there ..."⁷⁰⁾

After carefully studying the existing land tenure system, Sir George Grey decided to introduce individual land grants before tackling a new village system. In both cases he broke away from the traditional Xhosa custom. The first Xhosa to whom an individual grant was made, seems to have been Jan Tzatzoe. This was in October 1856, following Tzatzoe's petitions to the Government to restore his forfeited land.⁷¹⁾

67) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.260.

68) BK 373: Maclean - Liddle, 3.3.1855, p.42.

69) BK 403: Mackinnon - W. Shepstone, 1.6.1848.

70) BK 434: Memorialists - Mackinnon, 22.8.1849 (The petitioners recommended the removal of all Xhosa huts within the military radius of two miles).

71) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.274.

The first of these memorials was dated 15 September 1855 and addressed to the High Commissioner. It was, however, preceded by an enquiry into the Ama Ntinde tribe's participation in the Eighth Frontier War. Maclean forwarded copies of the evidence that he had collected in this regard to Cape Town and mentioned that he still agreed with Cathcart's original decision to confiscate a part of Tzatzoe's lands:

"There is sufficient to prove, if not yet legally, yet morally the justice of Sir George Cathcart's decision.⁷²⁾

Among the evidence that was collected, the statement of Chief Toise corroborated the Chief Commissioner's viewpoints. This Chief stated on 24 July 1855:

"It cannot be disputed that Jan's Kraal was frequented by rebel Hottentots during the war...Even now Jan Tzatzoe's Kraal continues to be a home for rebel Hottentots."⁷³⁾

In a further letter to Sir George Grey in November 1855, Maclean sent him additional evidence against the Ama Ntinde Chief and added that he was unable to understand why there was such a long delay after the War before Tzatzoe had made his claims. The Chief Commissioner further remarked on the tribe's silence following the confiscation of their lands and felt that if an injustice had been committed, it would have been heard of earlier from the other tribes as well. Jan had also never raised the matter at any of the post-war meetings with the Gaika or Ndlambe chiefs.⁷⁴⁾

This petition of Tzatzoe was unsuccessful but it did not deter him from approaching Grey again on 7 June 1856. This time he denied that he had played an active rôle in the Eighth Frontier War and also stressed its adverse effects on him. Jan stated *inter alia*:

72) BK 373: Maclean-Liddle, 14.9.1855, p.72.

73) BK 89: Evidence of Toise before Col. Maclean and G. Shepstone, 24.7.1855.

74) BK 373: Maclean-Liddle, 4.11.1855, p.78.

"On the breaking out of the War of 1850 Sir Harry Smith told Memorialist that all the Kaffirs who were not fighting against the English must for the present remove to the side of the road ...

"Memorialist removed again according to this order and when the War was over Memorialist asked Col. Maclean permission to return to his gardens and land but Col. Maclean said 'No' you cannot go back You have given gunpowder to Macomo. Memorialist demanded a trial but there could no man be found to prove the Scandal ... Memorialist and his people are compelled to reside on a Barren hill & the land of his forefathers given to another.

"Memorialist would respectfully submit that now when the lung sickness has reduced his people to poverty that Your Excellency would order that Memorialist be allowed to cultivate his land again & to raise food for himself & people"75)

Tzatzoe finally referred in his petition to a meeting between himself and Sir George Grey during the latter's previous visit. Maclean and Charles Brownlee were also present on that occasion. According to Jan, the High Commissioner then ordered that his land should be returned to him, which had not yet been complied with.76)

It was probably as a result of this memorial of 7 June 1856 that a piece of land near King William's Town was immediately afterwards surveyed for Tzatzoe. The Chief Commissioner himself must have changed his mind on the issue, judging from a letter he wrote to the High Commissioner in October. He then expressed the view that a grant of land would be appropriate because of Jan"...having planted a garden with fruit trees & c, and built a House on ground now occupied by the Military..."77)

Maclean recommended, among others, that the ground be given as freehold property, on condition that it would not be allowed to lie waste or be sold or let without the Government's sanction. The High Commissioner approved both the grant and the proposed conditions.78)

75) BK 44: Memorial of Tzatzoe to Grey, 7.6.1856(Although Tzatzoe signed the document, it was written by an unknown person on his behalf).

76) BK 44: Memorial of Tzatzoe to Grey, 7.6.1856.

77) BK 377: Schedule 336, Maclean - Grey, 2.10.1856.

78) BK 377: Schedule 336, Maclean - Grey, 2.10.1856, with Grey's undated reply.

About the same time Henry Barrington, Maclean's legal adviser, drafted a freehold grant. He suggested as one of its conditions that Tzatzoe should enclose the land with a ditch bank and fence which could keep horses and cattle out.⁷⁹⁾ This was accepted and the grant of twenty acres was finally issued on 25 October 1856. Similar conditions were apparently laid down for the later grants to Xhosa individuals.⁸⁰⁾

The British Kaffrarian Regulations promulgated by Sir George Grey in February 1858 further encouraged individual land ownership. These regulations permitted Blacks to buy waste lands at a fixed price of £1 per acre.⁸¹⁾ Among those who subsequently acquired property under this scheme were several Government servants from King William's Town. This included Ned Macomo who was employed by Dr. Fitz Gerald at the Hospital and William Kay, an interpreter. They both bought land in the Royal Reserve.⁸²⁾

Macomo acquired forty acres.⁸³⁾ The project soon proved a considerable success and when 1858 ended 184 Xhosa had purchased 3081 acres. A further 22 individuals had leased a total of 880 acres.⁸⁴⁾

During 1859 the High Commissioner embarked on another scheme for British Kaffraria in which individual ownership was concerned. This was the granting of farms to children of chiefs, particularly those who were at school in Cape Town. The idea was that the income derived from these farms be used in such cases to pay for the children's education. Maclean himself thought that the result of this plan could be "most beneficial".⁸⁵⁾ On 15 August Grey submitted a list of these children to the Duke of Newcastle, who authorized the grants on 31 October.⁸⁶⁾

Tzatzoe's son, named Duke of Wellington, subsequently received a farm of 404,5 acres on the Kabousi River.⁸⁷⁾ Ned Macomo's two sons and three daughters together received a farm of approximately 300 acres.⁸⁸⁾ Just before his

79) BK 421: Memorandum by Barrington to Surveyor - General: Form of conditions to be inserted in the proposed freehold grant to the Kaffir Chief Jan Tzatzoe, 1856.

80) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.275.

81) H. Steyn: Brits - Kaffraria, 1853-1861, p.61.

82) BK 407: Maclean - Capt. Espinasse, 18.5.1858, p.149.

83) K. Gazette, 21.8.1860.

84) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.276.

85) BK 373: Letter 38, Maclean - Secretary to High Commissioner, 15.8.1859, p. 94.

86) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.276.

87) BK 20: Undated document(ca.- 1860) referring to grants made to "Kaffir children in Sandile's location".

88) BK 434: List of the sons(and daughters) of Native Chiefs for whom land has been surveyed and selected shewing the extent and locality of each piece of land, J. Bryant, Survey Office, 7.9.1864.

recall to England in 1859, Sir George Grey also tried to expedite a grant of farms to Gonye(George) and Emma, the children of Sandile. Each received an "agricultural" and "pastoral" farm which were offered for leasing for a period of seven years in the King William's Town Gazette in December 1859. Tenders for these farms had to be submitted to the Audit Office in the Kaffrarian capital by 31 December.⁸⁹⁾

The High Commissioner had in the meantime come to the conclusion at the beginning of 1858 that there would be many advantages if the village system was to be introduced in the tribal districts (or generally known locally as locations) throughout British Kaffraria. These villages, instead of the isolated kraals, would make control for the Government much easier. Grey also thought that it would simplify the collection of taxes, at the same time preventing the chiefs from re-establishing their previous undisputed authority. By that time the measure had already proved successful among the Fingo in the Royal Reserve.⁹⁰⁾

Apart from the village at the Brownlee Mission mentioned earlier and that established in 1848, the next attempt to establish a Xhosa village in the vicinity of King William's Town was apparently made in September 1856. Dr. Schooles, the District Surgeon, then suggested that the local prostitutes should be allowed to erect huts in such a settlement at a certain rental per week. The Chief Commissioner commented, seemingly in a broader context, that this village (under the jurisdiction of a Superintendent) was very desirable. Sir George Grey remarked that he had previously "...given it as my opinion that such a native village should be constructed at King William's Town".⁹¹⁾ However, no immediate action was taken.

In November 1856 the Superintendent of Native Hospitals in turn recommended the establishment of a Black village near the Hospital to accommodate the friends and relatives of the sick, as well as dispensary patients. Maclean

89) K. Gazette: 10.12.1859 (Government Notice 34, 9.12.1858).

90) E. Dowsley: The Cattle-Killing Delusion, p.130.

91) BK 377: Schedule 328, Maclean-Grey., 20.9.1856, with Grey's undated reply.

informed Grey that Fitz Gerald had suggested "...that in order to induce the Natives to improve their Style of building, that the Houses should be built of brick in improved Kaffir style."⁹²⁾ The High Commissioner replied that he had given the preliminary orders for carrying out this plan.⁹³⁾ No further steps seem to have been taken until the general introduction of the village system in 1858.

One of the first officials to apply Sir George Grey's new scheme was Capt. R. Fielding, the Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe. He notified Maclean in March 1858 that he had informed Jan of the Government's intentions in this respect. Tzatzoe had then been strongly in favour of the village system:

"(This was)...especially as he has always been an advocate for concentrating his people (with the view to preventing robberies) and giving security to individuals, from marauders".⁹⁴⁾

Fielding immediately took further measures for settling the members of the Ama Ntinde tribe in villages. Maclean could soon report considerable progress to Grey. He mentioned that he had directed the village scheme to be introduced in Toise's, Jali's and Siwani's locations as well. Charles Brownlee was also implementing it.⁹⁵⁾

The High Commissioner's next move was to introduce regulations in February 1858 to be applied in the establishment of each village. The Chief Commissioner forwarded these instructions to the Resident Magistrate in King William's Town and the various other magistrates in British Kaffraria on 13 May 1858. The main object of the regulations was to make each village self-supporting. A maximum of 200 huts per village was suggested. Each unit would have a so-called first class headman, with sufficient second and third class headmen under him to preserve good order.⁹⁶⁾

92) BK 377: Schedule 326, Maclean-Grey, 27.11.1856.

93) BK 377: Schedule 326, Maclean-Grey, 27.11.1856, with Grey's undated reply.

94) BK 89: Fielding-Maclean, 8.3.1858.

95) BK 379: Schedule 70, Maclean-Grey, 29.4.1858, enclosing a letter by Fielding of the same date.

96) BK 393: Maclean-Taylor, 13.5.1858 (These regulations and their effects on the traditional system of government are also dealt with in Chapter VII).

According to a sketch map, Tzatzoe's location at that stage already had eight villages. These settlements were fairly evenly spread in the tribal area which stretched roughly from Fort Murray along the Yellow Woods River to near Hanover in the north-east and thence along the Kei Road to King William's Town. From there the boundaries stretched along the Grahamstown road as far as the Green River in the west and thence along the Green and Buffalo Rivers back to the vicinity of Fort Murray. The sketch map did not show Bihili's Kraal or any other existent village in the immediate surroundings of King William's Town.⁹⁷⁾ At the end of 1858 the number of villages among the Ama Ntinde tribe had increased to eleven, with a total of 284 huts and 1173 persons.⁹⁸⁾ The low population figure was a result of the cattle-killing mania when, in its aftermath, large numbers of Tzatzoe's followers left for the Cape Colony in search of work. In fact, some of the new villages were almost deserted.

Another noteworthy development during 1858 which had a direct bearing on the Ama Ntinde tribe and the existing villages was the decimation of the Mdange tribe under Chief Botman(Botomani)- also following the Xhosa National Suicide.⁹⁹⁾ Sections of the tribe migrated to the Colony, but Botman himself and the remaining members of his tribe moved into Tzatzoe's territory in about July 1858.¹⁰⁰⁾ At that time the Ama Ntindes were already accommodating Chief Kona and some of his followers.¹⁰¹⁾

Sir George Grey's ultimate aim with the village system was to have each village properly surveyed and divided into plots for individual owners. An acute shortage of surveyors, which was aggravated by the arrival of the German immigrants and the settlement of grantees, however, caused inevitable

97) M1/603: Sketch Map shewing Boundaries of Kaffir Chief Tsatsoe Location, British Kaffraria, 3 June 1858(Copy) and BK 48: W. Webb(Town Clerk) - G. Brownlow(Secretary to Government), 21.8.1862.

98) BK 109: Government Notice 13, 19.4.1859(Population Returns).

99) D.S.A.B., 111, p.93.

100) BK 228: Maclean-Brownlow, 14.8.1858.

101) See Chapter VI.

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delays. This part of the High Commissioner's scheme was therefore only ready for implementation in Tzatzoe's villages by the beginning of 1861.

The Reverend W.C. Holden of the Wesleyan Church had in the meantime also suggested in letters written to the Chief Commissioner on 27 April and 31 May 1860 that similar surveys be undertaken in the two Black kraals near King William's Town. He recommended that each family should receive a village plot of a quarter acre, as well as a four-acre garden plot. Although this was desirable, Maclean doubted the wisdom of alienating so large an extent of land within the military radius of the town.¹⁰²⁾ Grey also concurred with this point of view.

During the High Commissioner's visit to the Frontier early in 1861, Grey explained his proposals for surveying and subdividing the tribal villages to Chief Tzatzoe. This was in the presence of Col. Maclean, Brownlow and Bryant, the Surveyor-General. Grey then suggested that the whole location of the Ama Ntinde tribe be surveyed and that a piece of land which would not be required by the tribesmen be sold to defray the survey costs. A further idea was to lay out a farm and to grant it to Tzatzoe. It was also recommended that individual building and garden lots be surveyed in each village but with the retention of a sufficiently large commonage. The High Commissioner's final suggestion to the Ama Ntinde Chief was that the Government would buy any remaining land which was not required for tribal purposes.¹⁰³⁾ Tzatzoe apparently approved of the survey but promised to discuss the whole matter with his followers.

It was soon clear, however, that Tzatzoe had many objections to a scheme which was completely foreign to his tribe's traditional communal system. He discussed the proposals on several occasions with Brownlow as his Special Magistrate—the last of these was on 28 February 1861 when Tzatzoe was accompanied by his counsellors and headmen. At this meeting he "entirely" objected to all the proposals. He stated that when he had agreed to a survey, he understood it to be his former location which included the German Village and

102) BK 408: Maclean-W. Holden, 8.5.1860(p.251), 13.6.1860(p.292), 20.10.1860 (p. 412); BK 380: Schedule 81, Maclean-Grey, 30.8.1860.

103) BK 89: Brownlow(Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe) - Maclean, 8.3.1861.

parts of Siwani's and Toise's location, as well as a portion of the Royal Reserve.

According to Tzatzoe, Grey had promised that these confiscated lands would be restored to him. He was also under the impression that the High Commissioner had promised that every man in the tribe would receive a square-shaped farm, each side of which was to be equal to the distance between Government House and the police station at Gillam's Drift (about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles). Both Brownlow and Bryant strongly denied that such a promise was ever made. They added that the extent of land referred to was the probable size which would be required to cover the survey costs.¹⁰⁴⁾

The Chief Commissioner informed Grey of Chief Tzatzoe's negative reaction to his proposals and his misrepresentation of the facts. Maclean's opinion was that this conduct was in accordance with Jan's general character and that no dependence could be placed on his statements or promises. He added:

"I consider that no indulgence should henceforth be shown to Jan Tzatzoe."¹⁰⁵⁾

The High Commissioner's only reply was that he thought it unnecessary to communicate further with the Ama Ntinde Chief on the subject.¹⁰⁶⁾ This, however, seemed to be Grey's last effort to enforce the surveying of locations and their subdivision into allotments. That was because most of the chiefs, along with Tzatzoe, fiercely resisted individual ownership of tribal possessions. This showed how deeply ingrained the Xhosa customs were and the inadvisability of changing them overnight.

A problem which had arisen in the meanwhile, was that the authorities had not taken any special measures to provide for the Xhosa who were starting to return from the Colony in large numbers. The result was that the locations of chiefs such as Tzatzoe, Toise and Kama became progressively more densely populated.¹⁰⁷⁾ In the case of the Ama Ntinde tribe, the population increased from 1173 souls at the end of 1858 to 1691 by December 1860.¹⁰⁸⁾ This was possibly the reason why a number of Tzatzoe's people illegally cultivated land on the eastern side

104) BK 89: Brownlow - Maclean, 8.3.1861.

105) BK 382: Schedule 24, Maclean - Grey, 18.3.1861.

106) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 277.

107) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 280.

108) BK 109: Population Returns, 1858 and 1861.

of the Yellow Woods River during 1861. Brownlow warned that after the current crops had been removed, those involved in this unauthorized settlement would have to give up their gardens.¹⁰⁹⁾ Brownlow at the same time denied rumours that it was the Kaffrarian Government's intention " ... to eject from their location the natives settled near K W Town on the opposite side of the River." ¹¹⁰⁾

Sir George Grey's land reforms were one of the most important features of his administration in British Kaffraria. There were many other noteworthy measures which particularly affected King William's Town's Black population.

109) BK 387: Brownlow - Taylor, 31.3.1861, p. 94.

110) BK 409: Brownlow - Holden, 31.3.1861.

NATIVE POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

a. Policy:

After his proclamation of British Kaffraria as a separate dependency in December 1847, Sir Harry Smith theatrically rejected the treaty system of his predecessors and introduced a policy of indirect rule through the Xhosa chiefs. He recognized these chiefs as the hereditary rulers of their tribes according to customary Xhosa law, but appointed commissioners to act as magistrates to whom appeals could be made. Smith divided the territory into reserves, each bearing the name of an English county. Military control was exercised over the tribes from eight forts at strategic points, with King William's Town as headquarters.¹⁾

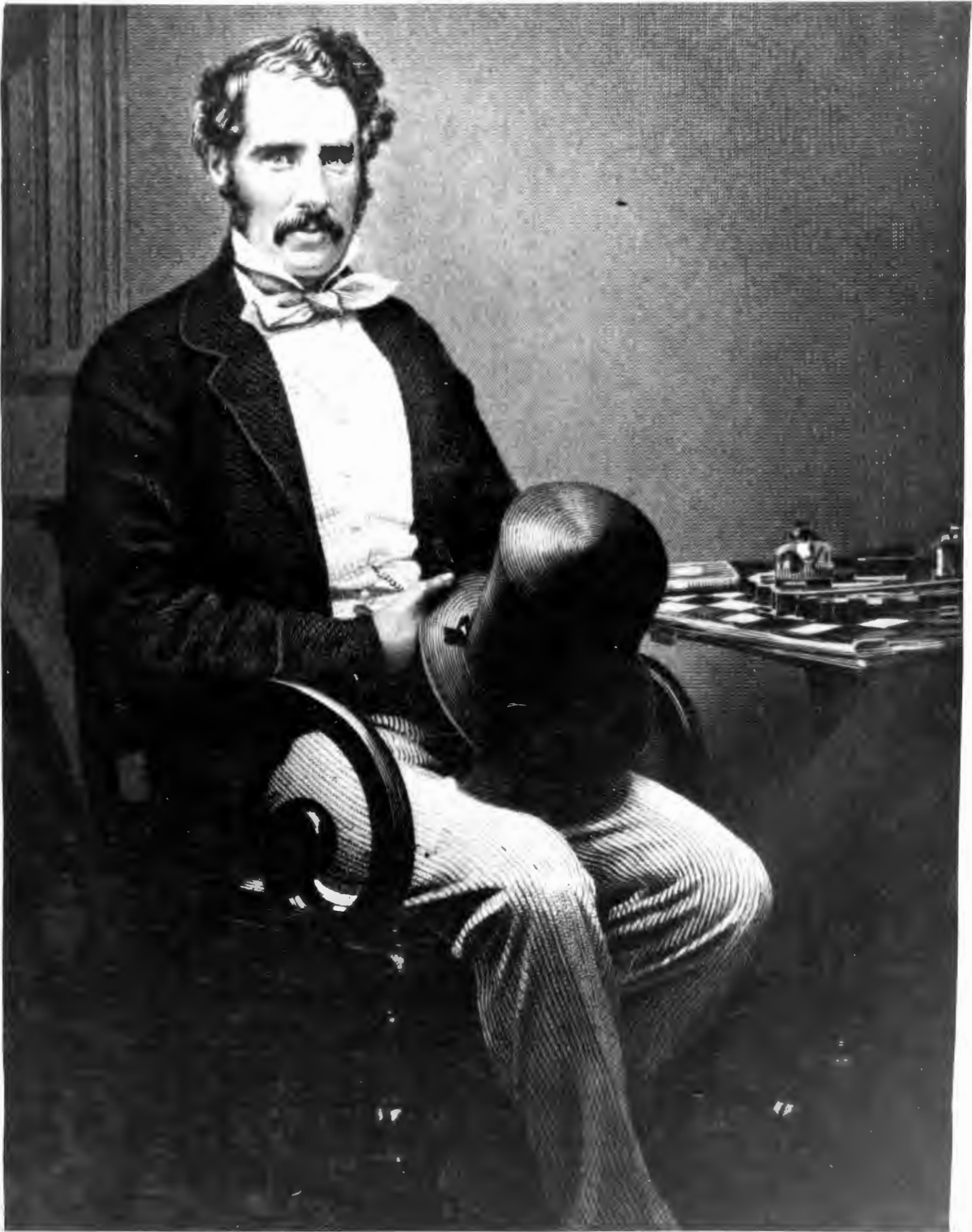
Sir George Cathcart succeeded Smith in 1852 and immediately left for the Frontier, arriving at King William's Town on 9 April. He was a capable military commander, but had no administrative experience.²⁾ He treated the Frontier purely as a military problem and was satisfied with the existing few commissioners who became no more than Government agents under him. The chiefs were allowed to rule their own tribes, which suited Cathcart well with his emphasis on the temporary nature of British Kaffraria as a separate dependency. Cathcart's policy was characterized too by his shifting of boundaries and moving of tribes. This resulted in the confiscation of the lands of the rebellious Gaika tribes around the Amatolas after the Eighth Frontier War. He settled the Gaikas east of the Great North Road and declared the Amatolas a Royal Reserve.³⁾ This confiscated area was shaped rather like a triangle, with King William's Town forming the apex. A part of Tzatzoe's territory was also confiscated.

Cathcart regarded British Kaffraria mainly as a Black reserve which it was to remain. The small European population in the Kaffrarian capital and at a few other outposts was to him almost irrelevant and could have no claim to permanency in the territory. His preoccupation with the military nature of his administration excluded European immigration:

1) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp. 30-31.

2) D.S.A.B., 11, p. 124.

3) E. Dowsley: The Cattle-killing Delusion, p. 4.



Sir George Grey : High Commissioner fo British Kaffraria, 1854 - 1861.
(AG 7362, Cape Archives)

"... The whole white civil population in the Province is estimated at 1210 - exclusive of the Troops giving a majority of Black inhabitants over the white civil inhabitants of possibly about sixty to one and of the latter 703 or more than one half are inhabitants of King William's Town.

" ... Military control not colonisation is the principle of policy which has induced me to advise the retention of Kaffraria as a separate Govern^t ... "4)

Cathcart's native policy of non-intervention and rigid segregation in British Kaffraria was largely defensive, negative, incomplete and hurried and stood in strong contrast to that of his successor, Sir George Grey.⁵⁾ Even before his departure for South Africa the new High Commissioner became acquainted with the situation on the Frontiers, which had been the eventual downfall of many of his predecessors. Sir George Napier, himself a former Governor, warned him in August 1854:

"I need not tell you that the Frontier Policy, as regards the Kaffres, is the great difficulty at the Cape"6)

Within a month of his arrival at Cape Town, Grey broadly outlined his native policy on 22 December 1854. He was determined to scrap his predecessor's policy of military control and segregation in British Kaffraria in favour of one of assimilation and civilization:

"The plan I propose to pursue...is...by employing them upon public works, which will tend to open up their country; by establishing institutions for the education of their children, and the relief of their sick, by introducing amongst them institutions of a civil character suited to their present condition, and by these and other like means to attempt gradually to win them to civilization and Christianity..."7)

The idealistic and energetic Grey expanded on his proposed policy at the opening of the Cape Parliament on 15 March 1855. He emphasized the encouragement of missions connected with industrial schools, the establishment of hospitals and public works projects, as well as the introduction of European immigrants.⁸⁾ Grey's aim with his immigration schemes was the interspersal

4) GH 30/4: Cathcart - Maclean, 19.1.1854, pp. 74,81.

5) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.85; Rutherford: Sir George Grey, p. 312.

6) Grey's Letters, S.A. Public Library: File 131, G. Napier - Grey, 16.8.1854.

7) 1857 Sess. 1, X(2198). Cape, Report on Present State, 1855: Grey - G. Grey (Secretary of State for the Colonies), 22.12.1854, p.38.

8) Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, pp. 11-12.

of Xhosa and Europeans into a "chequerboard".⁹⁾ Such measures would in turn facilitate British Kaffraria's defence and his civilization policy by increasing contact with the Europeans. The High Commissioner also broke the autocratic power of the Xhosa chiefs down by the introduction of stipends and even by cleverly applying his transportation measures.

Grey soon established himself as a highly efficient administrator whose previous experience among the Maori in New Zealand proved invaluable. He was a great humanist and from the outset he made the welfare of the Xhosa the basic principle of his administration. The High Commissioner's measures often necessitated his presence in British Kaffraria and he became a regular visitor to King William's Town where he was liked and respected by all sections of the community.

During Grey's High Commissionership a new phase commenced in the native policy towards British Kaffraria, which had far-reaching effects far beyond the territory's boundaries. Grey's administrative measures were of particular importance to the Xhosa in and around the Kaffrarian capital and will be discussed in this and later chapters.

b. General Administration:

The success of Grey's native policy in British Kaffraria depended on an effective administration. Fortunately this dependency had a small but efficient administrative machinery throughout its existence.

The nominal head of the administration in British Kaffraria was the Governor of the Cape Colony who, since 1846, also bore the title High Commissioner.¹⁰⁾ This duty empowered him to arrange " ... the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the Territories in South Africa adjacent to the Colony."¹¹⁾ For practical purposes the High Commissioner was represented in this territory by a Chief Commissioner who would rule in his absence.

Immediately after the annexation of British Kaffraria Sir Harry Smith, in his capacity as High Commissioner, appointed Lieutenant Colonel George Henry Mackinnon on 24 December 1847 as the first Chief Commissioner of this

9) E. Walker: History of Southern Africa, p.287.

10) D.S.A.B., 11, p.557.

11) GH 8/49: Maclean - Col. Pringle Taylor, 11.12.1856.



Colonel John Maclean : Chief Commissioner (1852 - 1860) and Lieutenant-Governor (1860 - 1864), British Kaffraria. (E 375, Cape Archives).

separate Province. Mackinnon retained his position as Commandant — an indication of the military character of the dependency's administration in its first years. Smith instructed Mackinnon to rule British Kaffraria through the medium of the chiefs.¹²⁾ He was assisted by Capt. John Maclean as Ndlambe Commissioner and by Charles Brownlee and William Fynn as Assistant Commissioners (Brownlee was stationed with the Gaika and Fynn with the Ndlambes). Sir Harry Smith instructed that the military should never be employed for any purpose without Mackinnon's approval. The Kaffir Police had to be used in "ordinary cases" such as the conveyance of messages to and from the chiefs.¹³⁾ King William's Town became the seat of the Chief Commissioner. Fynn's post was abolished soon afterwards.

For the first years of its existence British Kaffraria's civil administration therefore consisted mainly of a Chief Commissioner and two commissioners under him. They were the only medium of communication with the territory's large Xhosa population. Although Cathcart also emphasized the military nature of the Province's administration he created the Kaffrarian Board in May 1852. The main function of the Board was the improvement of conditions and facilities at King William's Town and generally of affairs concerning British Kaffraria's European population.¹⁴⁾ The Board's activities continued until the middle of 1855, but it had little influence on the Kaffrarian capital's Xhosa population.

After the resignation of Mackinnon as Chief Commissioner, he was succeeded in September 1852 by John Maclean. This official was stationed at Fort Murray as Ndlambe Commissioner and for many years continued to use this military post near King William's Town as his seat of office. Richard Taylor was appointed simultaneously as the Kaffrarian capital's first Resident Magistrate. Otherwise the position remained virtually unchanged until the arrival of Sir George Grey in 1854. He was one of the first Governors who was first and foremost an administrator by training and inclination — his military duties were to him of secondary importance. Grey saw the necessity of a much larger civil administration in British Kaffraria and was responsible for the creation of several new administrative departments and institutions like the Native Hospital.

Among the new departments that Grey established were a Civil Engineer's

12) J. Scott: The British Soldier, p.272.

13) GH 28/41: Instructions from the High Commissioner to Lieut. Colonel Mackinnon (Enclosure 1 to Despatch 3), 4.1.1848.

14) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.80.

and a Surveyor General's office, as well as legal institutions like a Criminal Court and a system of special magistrates with the Xhosa chiefs. The High Commissioner was also responsible for the formation of a medical department, an auditor's department, a treasury and a Transfer and Deeds Registry Office. All these offices and institutions were based on King William's Town, except for the special magistrates who were decentralized. This meant that the capital played a major rôle in the administration of the whole Xhosa population in British Kaffraria and in the general development of the territory. In January 1858 Maclean recalled the position ten years earlier and compared it to the remarkable administrative progress since Grey's High Commissionership:

"Strictly speaking no civil Institutions such as are found in a country under a civilized Gov^t were in operation -

"Every act of Gov^t was done under Military authority ... Such surveys, buildings & c as were then made were made by the Royal Engineers with military working parties ...

"During the last three years the progress has been steady - the appointment of a Surveyor General - Civil Engineer, local Magistrates with the several chiefs, an efficient staff of Gov^t Medical officers, and lastly the constitution of a Criminal Court capable of dealing with the gravest offences have done much for the civil settlement of the Country -

"Of the ten years which have passed...the first six were disturbed by war and its effects, the last four have only been given to form civil Institutions. Considering the state of the Country I think that our progress is most satisfactory".¹⁵⁾

An important factor which made many of Grey's administrative reforms in British Kaffraria possible, was the special annual grants which he obtained from the British Government. The first of these grants of £40 000 was made in 1855.¹⁶⁾ The High Commissioner was informed in May 1858 that this amount would be halved from 1859.¹⁷⁾ The upshot was that Maclean instructed the

15) BK 373: Letter 310, Maclean - Grey, 28.1.1858, p.225.

16) G. Journal, 13.10.1855.

17) W.L. and L. Rees: Life and Times of Sir George Grey, p.217.

different departments to cut their expenses and to reduce their staff drastically.¹⁸⁾ This reduction seriously affected further development programmes and many Blacks and Europeans lost their work. King William's Town was hit soon afterwards by a "great commercial depression".¹⁹⁾ The British Parliament allocated a final sum of £15 000 in July 1861.²⁰⁾

Despite these financial restraints the civil administration of British Kaffraria was well established and was functioning effectively under Maclean's able guidance by the time of Grey's departure in 1861. The rôle that the different administrative institutions played and their effects on the Xhosa in and around the Kaffrarian capital during Grey's High Commissionership, as will be seen, was considerable.

c. Labour:

Before the arrival of Sir George Grey there was no official labour policy for British Kaffraria. Military working parties were used by the civilian Government for all public works. These included the making and repair of roads, the reconstruction of Brownlee's watercourse,²¹⁾ as well as the erection of local public buildings like the gaol and the Anglican Church.²²⁾ Strictly military services obviously received priority over civil works.²³⁾

Grey regarded a proper labour policy as one of the cornerstones of his measures to "civilize" the Xhosa. In December 1854 he first raised the idea of employing Blacks on public work projects.²⁴⁾ In his opening address to the Cape Parliament in March 1855, Grey referred to a growing desire among the Xhosa to work on such projects; this desire had gathered momentum with the lung-sickness among the cattle. He therefore announced his intention to employ

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- 18) BK 407: Circular 7, Maclean - Magistrates and departmental heads, 15.7.1855.
 19) K. Gazette, 25.6.1859 (Letter by "Churchman", 24.6.1859).
 20) K. Gazette, 27.9.1861 (Local and Colonial).
 21) BK 371: Letter 95, Mackinnon - High Commissioner (H. Smith), 25.1.1849, pp. 99-101.
 22) G. Journal, 9.7.1853.
 23) BK 371: Letter 158, Maclean - W. Liddle (Private Secretary to High Commissioner), 16.7.1854, pp. 419-420.
 24) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.88.

Xhosa on schemes such as road-making in British Kaffraria.²⁵⁾

The advantages, Grey claimed, would be manifold. It would make useful servants of the Xhosa, win them to civilization and open up their country. It would also teach the Xhosa men the value and the dignity of work. Such labour could further serve as a form of industrial education which would make the Blacks used to regular work, regular hours and good workmanship, as well as teaching them the use of implements. Trade would benefit too and the Xhosa would be introduced to new food items and clothes.²⁶⁾

News of Grey's new labour scheme was well received in King William's Town. The general feeling was that the lung-sickness provided a good opportunity for introducing it, as the disease was impoverishing the Xhosa.²⁷⁾ Grey acted energetically in introducing the public works programme and the first Xhosa labourers were employed almost immediately.²⁸⁾

During Grey's visit to the Frontier in September 1855 he saw several contented Xhosa labour parties and was impressed by their discipline, enthusiasm and good conduct. While still in King William's Town, he recommended to Maclean that a maximum of 950 Xhosa be employed in public works. They were to be divided into three classes, namely 50 so-called first class workmen at a pay of one shilling per day, 100 second class workers at nine pennies and 800 third class men at six pennies a day. The first two categories would have certain supervisory duties, although themselves falling under a European supervisor.²⁹⁾ This meant an annual expenditure of more than £15 000 which was made possible by the special annual grant of £40 000.³⁰⁾

By the end of 1855 the average monthly number of Xhosa labourers on the different public works projects exceeded 500. Most of these schemes formed part of the High Commissioner's road building programme. In December, for example, work parties totalling 526 men were engaged on the construction of roads linking the Kaffrarian capital with Döhne, Kabousi and Grahamstown. The Windvogel-

25). 1857, Sess. 1, X (2198). Cape, Report on Present State, 1855: Governor Grey - G. Grey (Secretary of State for the Colonies), 17.3.1855, enclosing copy of Grey's address to Parliament, p.59.

26) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp.88,91,256; Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, p.12; Dowsley: The Cattle-killing Delusion, pp.10,56.

27) G. Journal, 28.7.1855.

28) G. Journal, 4.8.1855.

29) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 16.9.1855, p.133.

30) Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, p.77.

berg road from King William's Town to Queen's Town was then under partial reconstruction too and road repairs were being done to the King William's Town — East London road.³¹⁾

King William's Town benefitted initially from the public works scheme with the cutting and extension of the existing watercourse past the Pensioners' Village. On this project 46 Blacks were employed in December 1855. They were under the Superintendence of Lieutenant Tekush of the Kaffir Police. Xhosa workers also assisted the military occasionally in the construction of the Pensioners' Village. Of the Xhosa then working in the capital, about 20 had been permanently on public works schemes since its introduction in about April. Grey had reason to be satisfied with this important aspect of his policy and stated in January 1856:

"The Kaffirs are themselves conquering their country by opening up, through their fastnesses, available roads, which will be of equal use to us either in peace or war. They are acquiring habits of industry (formerly the men never worked) and a taste for the commodities of civilised life ..."³²⁾

During the first half of 1856 the different projects progressed very well, but with the first signs of the cattle-killing mania the number of Xhosa workers dropped dramatically. At the end of July only ten labourers remained on the road works linking King William's Town with Grahamstown and East London.³³⁾ After that the position improved somewhat, but until the climax of the crisis early in 1857 the number of workers continued to fluctuate. With the destitution that followed after February, it became necessary to increase the original maximum, which reached a record number of 2 194 labourers in June. The figures for July were still 2 105.³⁴⁾ When referring to this catastrophe and its effects on public works, Grey remarked in his Parliamentary speech of 7 April:

"A restless nation, who for years have harassed the Frontier, may now, to a great extent, be changed into useful workers."³⁵⁾

The number of Xhosa employed on road works remained high. According to official returns, the numbers working on the King William's Town — Grahamstown road ranged between 162 men in December 1856 to 615 in August 1857.³⁶⁾

31) 1856, XXXIX(223-VIII), Papers re care of Natives, 1855-6: Grey - W. Molesworth (Secretary of State for the Colonies), 16.1.1856 and enclosures, pp. 34-38; G. Journal, 1.12.1855 (Charles Brownlee was involved in several of these projects. He had to visit King William's Town and Fort Murray ten times between June and December 1855 in connection with public works).

32) 1856, XXXIX(223-VIII). S.A., Papers re care of Natives, 1855-6: Grey - W. Molesworth, 16.1.1856 and enclosures, pp. 34-37.

33) BK 373: Letter 269, Maclean - Liddle (Secretary to High Commissioner), 7.8.1856, pp. 147-148.

34) K. Gazette, 11.7.1857, 8.8.1857.

35) K. Gazette, 18.4.1857.

36) K. Gazette, 10.1.1857, 12.9.1857.

The other major road construction was the new line between the Kaffrarian capital and East London.³⁷⁾ The number of Black labourers on this project remained fairly constant and varied from 175 men in June to 210 in November 1857.³⁸⁾ At times there were almost 2 000 Xhosa employed on either constructing these new roads or repairing existing ones.³⁹⁾

Official returns show that the public works programme was also in other respects of advantage to the Kaffrarian capital and its physical expansion. The most important of these were street repairs; the main thoroughfares like Smith Street were the first to receive attention.⁴⁰⁾ The number of Xhosa men undertaking this task fluctuated during 1857 between 70 and 121.⁴¹⁾ In January 1858 this figure decreased to 21.⁴²⁾ Another local civil works scheme in which Black labour was used, was the construction of the Native Hospital. The number of workers ranged between 8 in January and 189 in April 1857.⁴³⁾

All the administrative work and planning in connection with the various public works schemes were handled in the Kaffrarian capital by the Civil Engineers Department. This included the acquisition and supply of tools and rations, arrangements for proper supervision and payments, as well as the regular publication of statistics in the local Gazette. The department invited tenders from time to time for the supply of rations to the Xhosa workers. These advertisements for tenders show that the labourers were supplied with meat, coffee, sugar, Kaffir-corn, mealies, tobacco and soap.⁴⁴⁾ Mealies formed the main part of these rations; in one instance Xhosa workers received 219 lbs. of mealies for collecting shells to burn for lime for the Native Hospital.⁴⁵⁾ Although the Xhosa workmen also received cash remunerations, these rations were especially welcome during the cattle-killing catastrophe.

From 1858 the number of Xhosa labourers on public works declined sharply as a result of the decrease in the Imperial grant. In February Maclean ordered the discontinuance of most of these projects.⁴⁶⁾ Although this

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- 37) G. Journal, 10.5.1856.
 - 38) K. Gazette, 11.7.1857, 12.12.1857.
 - 39) K. Gazette, 8.8.1857.
 - 40) K. Gazette, 14.8.1856.
 - 41) K. Gazette, 16.5.1857, 16.1.1858.
 - 42) K. Gazette, 13.2.1858.
 - 43) K. Gazette, 7.2.1857, 16.5.1857.
 - 44) K. Gazette, 28.3.1857 (Public Notice, 23.3.1857).
 - 45) BK 217: Item on Expenditure, September 1857.
 - 46) BK 407: Maclean - Auditor, 4.2.1858, p.31.

did not mean that Grey's grandiose schemes came to a complete halt, the condition of the roads and streets deteriorated which in turn caused regular complaints. A building project like the Native Hospital had to be continued virtually without Xhosa labour and this was partly responsible for the long delay in its completion.⁴⁷⁾ In 1859 the monthly figure for Xhosa employed on civil works dropped to 18; in 1860 it fluctuated between 24 and 76 and in 1861 between 11 and 51 men.⁴⁸⁾ With Grey's departure in August 1861 this activity was therefore but a shadow of his original plan.

The public works system undoubtedly played a major rôle and was of great economic, social and military significance to the Kaffrarian capital. However, even at the height of its success the scheme could only provide work opportunities for a limited number of Xhosa. This led many Xhosa to seek work in the Cape Colony — another project which Grey actively encouraged.

From the establishment of the Province of British Kaffraria in 1847 there was a steady demand for Xhosa labour in the Colony. To regulate control over these labourers passing over the borders, Sir Harry Smith introduced a pass system or "Form of Indenture" early in 1848. The Eighth Frontier War intensified the need for labourers even in the Western districts from where agents were sent to King William's Town to recruit Xhosa.⁴⁹⁾ Henry Cloete of Groot Constantia was one of the farmers who applied for workers and in 1853 wanted to visit British Kaffraria personally for this purpose.⁵⁰⁾

The existing pass system was not very effective and not always adhered to. A report in the Graham's Town Journal in 1853 stated that a party of Tzatzoe's tribe had gone from King William's Town to Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort without passes and without being caught.⁵¹⁾ The result was the publication of a Government Notice which warned that the borders had to be

47) See Chapter V.

48) Du Toit: *The Cape Frontier*, p.253.

49) Du Toit: *The Cape Frontier*, pp. 249-253.

50) BK 7: Letter 2, W. Hope (Acting Colonial Secretary) - Maclean, 22.2.1853.

51) G. Journal, 8.10.1853.

observed by all and that the pass system would be strictly enforced for all Xhosa labourers from British Kaffraria. Colonists then had to apply specially for servants, specifying their names and tribal identity. The Resident Magistrate of King William's Town, the Gaika Commissioner and the Superintendent of the Royal Reserve were empowered to issue passes and had to keep a proper register.⁵²⁾ In practice most of the applications were handled in the Kaffrarian capital.

The cattle-killing crisis forced many Xhosa to go to the Cape Colony in search of work and food. To regulate this sudden spate of workers and to streamline their registration, the pass laws of 1853 were extended in 1856 on Grey's instructions. The revised pass system provided for every magistrate in British Kaffraria to keep "... a register of all Native applicants for Service within the District, and that a central office for the registration of Native Servants should be established at the Resident Magistrate's Office, King William's Town." Farmers could submit their applications to the central office or directly to the nearest magistrate, together with prescribed information.⁵³⁾ Special registration offices were immediately created at King William's Town and Middle Drift.⁵⁴⁾

The Chief Commissioner requested the magistrates to forward a monthly return of all applications for service to the central office in King William's Town. They were expected to inform the Xhosa chiefs and their people of the new system. A nominal return of passes issued still had to be furnished monthly, as before. The central office in the capital in turn had to supply Maclean with full statistics for the whole Province.⁵⁵⁾ This creation of labour bureaux by Grey was a revolutionary extension of the existing pass system and was an important instrument in preventing chaos during the cattle-killing catastrophe.

52) G. Journal, 31.12.1853 (Government Notice, 10.12.1853).

53) BK 109: Government Notice, 7.11.1857, p.50.

54) BK 377: Schedule 349, Maclean - Grey, 6.11.1856.

55) CO 634: Circular, 7.11.1856 (These measures were followed up in 1857 by Colonial legislation which imposed imprisonment and hard labour on Blacks passing into the Colony without passes and which also regulated the terms of service under which "Native Foreigners" could be employed - Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.255).

As will be seen later in the thesis, this crisis led to 28 892 Xhosa registering for service in British Kaffraria during 1857.⁵⁶⁾ This stood in stark comparison with 31 Blacks who had been issued with passes in December 1856.⁵⁷⁾ Many Xhosa (especially from Kaffraria Proper) simply crossed the borders without passes. Most of those who were registered, came to the central office in King William's Town. The cavalcade of destitute Xhosa streaming to the capital for this purpose, became a sad but ordinary part of the local scene. Many of Jan Tzatzoe's followers too left for service in the Cape Colony.⁵⁸⁾ Fortunately there was then a great demand for labourers and farmers often travelled considerable distances with their wagons in their eagerness to secure workers in King William's Town.⁵⁹⁾ Although the majority of the locally registered Xhosa travelled overland to Grahamstown, destitutes were taken in exceptional cases to East London for transportation to Cape Town. Between April and December 1857 510 Xhosa were transported.⁶⁰⁾

By 1858 the worst part of the cattle-killing crisis was over, which was reflected in the fact that the number of labourers who had applied for passes had decreased to 7 519. The special agents who had appeared at the height of the catastrophe in districts like Graaff-Reinet were still active in recruiting Xhosa in King William's Town and elsewhere in British Kaffraria.⁶¹⁾ In March, for example, James Hart from Somerset East collected more than 100 labourers in the Kaffrarian capital for the Somerset East and Graaff-Reinet districts.⁶²⁾

During 1859 only 358 Xhosa from British Kaffraria registered for Colonial service.⁶³⁾ This figure presumably included the 39 youths from the Ama Ntinde tribe who were sent to Cape Town in April.⁶⁴⁾ Before the group departed, Maclean made it clear to them, as well as to Tzatzoe, their parents and the few headmen present that those who had volunteered would be registered as servants and would not attend school. Several of the parents

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- 56) BK 379: Schedule 6, Maclean-Grey, 18.1.1856(Official Returns).
 - 57) BK 68: Official Returns of Natives registered and sent to Service in the Colony, 9.1.1857.
 - 58) K. Gazette, 12.12.1857 (According to the official returns 104 of his followers were registered in November, which formed a considerable proportion of the tribe's male population).
 - 59) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.255; Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p.527.
 - 60) K. Gazette, 16.1.1858.
 - 61) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp.253,255.
 - 62) K. Gazette, 13.3.1858.
 - 63) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.253.
 - 64) BK 380: Schedule 41, Maclean - Grey, 25.4.1859.

who were specifically interested in the education of their children then withdrew them from the group.⁶⁵⁾ Tzatzoe declared himself satisfied with the arrangement but expressed the wish that they might receive some education. It was agreed that the Chief would receive regular reports on the health and progress of the children so that he could reply to enquiries.⁶⁶⁾

The group left East London on 23 April 1859 on board the schooner "Rosebud".⁶⁷⁾ In Cape Town they were put in charge of the "Superintendent of Kaffirs" at the Castle until they could be indentured.⁶⁸⁾ Twelve of these youths were employed in the dockyard at Simonstown and twenty-four accepted service "...with highly respectable persons in the neighbourhood (of Cape Town) who are under contract to have them instructed and religiously brought up ..."⁶⁹⁾ The three remaining boys did go to school eventually at Protea, the property of the Anglican Church of Cape Town and forerunner of the Zonnebloem "Kaffir College".⁷⁰⁾

In July 1860 eight of the youths employed at Simonstown returned to King William's Town at their own request.⁷¹⁾ After their return, many complaints were received from the parents of the remaining children about their treatment in Cape Town. Maclean had an idea that these criticisms originated with the eight boys who had stated on their return that they had received no training whatsoever. The parents and Tzatzoe later requested Grey that all the boys be returned. Grey promised that he would discuss the matter personally with the Ama Ntinde Chief on his next visit to King William's Town.⁷²⁾

It was subsequently decided that the boys could rejoin their tribe. They embarked at Cape Town on 11 March 1861 on the brig "River". Only one boy

65) BK 373: Letter 17, Maclean - Grey, 12.5.1859, p. 278.

66) BK 373: Letter 23, Maclean - Grey, 2.6.1859, p. 283.

67) BK 380: Schedule 41, Maclean - Grey, 25.4.1859.

68) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.256.

69) GH 30/5: Travers - Maclean, 27.5.1859, p.86.

70) Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, pp. 193-194.

71) BK 4: Travers - Maclean, 9.7.1860.

72) BK 373: Letter 81, Maclean - Grey, 4.11.1860, p.359; BK 380: Schedule 105, Maclean - Grey, 8.11.1860, with Grey's undated reply.

remained behind, but a portrait was sent to his parents as a visual reminder.⁷³⁾ This concluded the Government's experiment to introduce the youths of Tzatzoe's tribe to migrant labour. Later in 1859 Maclean received instructions not to send any further Xhosa to the Colony by sea because of British Kaffraria's financial position.⁷⁴⁾

In the course of 1860 only 174 Xhosa workers were registered for service in the Cape Colony.⁷⁵⁾ The Pass Act nevertheless continued to be strictly enforced, as one of King William's Town's inhabitants found out to his great inconvenience; on one occasion he sent two heavily loaded wagons to Grahamstown, but near the local race course the police apprehended the drivers and leaders leaving the wagon and twenty oxen behind.⁷⁶⁾ The only exceptions where Xhosa were not obliged to obtain passes were the wagon drivers and leaders stationed at the Mule Train in the capital. This was largely because the Commissariat wagons were despatched at all times of the day and even night, which made it difficult to obtain passes from the Resident Magistrate at short notice. These Xhosa, however, were easily distinguished by their dress and were always under the surveillance of officers or others of the Commissariat department.⁷⁷⁾

By the time of Sir George Grey's departure in 1861 a definite pattern had been established as far as the registration of labourers from British Kaffraria and even further afield was concerned. Apart from saving many lives and preventing labour chaos during the period of destitution, the High Commissioner's revised measure was one of the earliest attempts to organize Black labour on a large scale. His creation of a decentralized system of labour bureaux was also of the greatest importance in South Africa's economic history. This bureau system, as well as pass laws and migrant labour are still important features of official policy. The rôle and significance of King William's Town in this evolutionary process has not yet been fully recognized. Grey's public works system has also been applied subsequently in a wider context.

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- 73) GH 30/6: J. Rivers (for Acting Colonial Secretary) - Brownlow, 14.3.1861 pp. 24-25.
 74) GH 30/5: Travers - Maclean, 19.8.1859, p.122.
 75) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.153 (The figure for 1861 increased slightly to 256).
 76) K. Gazette, 28.4.1860 (Notes of the Week) - All four men were from Tzatzoe's tribe.
 77) BK 407: Maclean - R. Routh, 4.2.1858, p.36; L G 138: Maclean - Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor, 4.2.1858.

d. Communications:

Sir George Grey realized that proper communications was essential for British Kaffraria's general welfare. He gave a high priority to the construction of good roads particularly and, has been seen, used most of the Xhosa employed on public works for this purpose. In the road building programme King William's Town was linked by an extensive new network of excellent highways with the various strategic parts of British Kaffraria, as well as with the Colony, the coast and the interior. The roads were primarily built for military and economic considerations and did not materially affect the Xhosa in and around the Kaffrarian capital. This important aspect of Grey's measures will therefore only be considered briefly.

The High Commissioner announced his ambitious road plans on 23 June 1855. The first road to be attended to was the one to Queen's Town which had to be partly reconstructed. A new road to Grahamstown via Tamacha, and the partial reconstruction or at least the repair of the existing road to East London were contemplated too.⁷⁸⁾ The road to Döhne was completed in December 1855 and the Windvogelberg road linking Grahamstown and the Kaffrarian capital to Queen's Town was then under construction. The highway to Grahamstown was commenced almost simultaneously.⁷⁹⁾

The line of road to Queen's Town was completed early in 1856 and its links with the north-eastern districts of the Colony gave an important impetus to King William's Town's commercial expansion. Many delays were experienced on the King William's Town — Grahamstown road and it was only opened to the public in July 1859. It was partly designed by Andrew Geddes Bain.⁸⁰⁾ In the meantime Grey approved the construction of an entirely new line of road between the Kaffrarian capital and East London. This highway ran on the east bank of the Buffalo River and work on it was commenced in about May 1856.⁸¹⁾ It was eventually opened on 1 February 1858.⁸²⁾

It was not suprising that the British Kaffrarian roads were compared

78) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 23.6.1855, pp. 119-120.

79) Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, p. 77.

80) BK 380: Schedule 82, Maclean - Grey, 1.8.1859, enclosing letter by Trill dated 26 July 1859; G. Journal, 9.8.1859.

81) G. Journal, 10.5.1856.

82) K. Gazette, 23.1.1858 (Government Notice 1, 20.1.1858).

favourably with those in the Colony.⁸³⁾ These communication links proved to be of great economic importance for the capital. The new roads indirectly benefitted the Xhosa from outlying areas, as King William's Town with its many facilities was then within easier reach.

Postal communications was also of particular importance in a pioneering community like King William's Town. The Xhosa population in and around the town was still largely illiterate and this form of communication was of little benefit to them. It is nevertheless noteworthy that Xhosa runners were used sometimes to carry the post from King William's Town to Grahams-town and to outstations in British Kaffraria. The Xhosa were regarded as swift of foot and well acquainted with all the roads and footpaths. After the arrival of the British German Legion in 1857 the mail between Döhne and the Kaffrarian capital was still carried by "Kaffir runners". This mode of conveyance was not always regarded as safe — one of these messengers once spent a few hours at an outspanned wagon on the way while a few other Xhosa searched his unsealed bag for tobacco.⁸⁴⁾

On the whole the military post riders conveyed most of the mail for the military as well as the civilian community of King William's Town.⁸⁵⁾ This was still the position in 1861. By then the Xhosa runners had started to disappear from the scene with the advent of post carts and the establishment of postal facilities for civilians in the Kaffrarian capital.⁸⁶⁾

Although newspapers was an important medium of communication for King William's Town's European inhabitants, the Kaffrarian Government seldom used them to reach the Xhosa population. The magistrates usually had to convey any important information to chiefs like Tzatzoe, who in turn spread it by word of mouth to the tribesmen through their counsellors, headmen and their assistants. The exceptional cases in which the authorities did use the local media for the benefit of the Xhosa were with the announcement of Grey's transportation measures and the vaccination campaign. Government Notices and circulars were then printed in Xhosa for information purposes.

83) K. Gazette, 8.8.1857.

84) Germania, 17.6.1857.

85) BK 405: Mackinnon - Godlonton and White, 18.3.1850, p.45.

86) BK 7: Post Master General (J. Le Sueur) - Randall (postal agent), 26.5.1857.

e. Subjugation of the Chiefs:

Sir George Grey considered the Xhosa chiefs with their wide-ranging powers and influence a major obstacle in executing his civilizing policy in British Kaffraria. He particularly used his magisterial reforms and transportation to the Western Cape, during the uncertain times surrounding the cattle-killing catastrophe, to break these powers down.

The transportation measures had their origin in a Government Notice which appeared in King William's Town on 3 March 1857.⁸⁷⁾ This regulation referred to a growing number of armed robberies and depredations by Xhosa which, in Grey's view, called for severe punishments. The most drastic of these measures were death sentences for armed robbery and transportation to the Western Cape.⁸⁸⁾ The latter possibility — particularly the journey by sea — was feared by the Xhosa chiefs and their followers alike and in itself served as an effective deterrent against crime.⁸⁹⁾

Many of the influential Xhosa chiefs and petty chiefs were apprehended from September 1857 onwards and usually lodged in the King William's Town gaol before their trials. Several of these court cases took place in the capital, from where the chiefs were eventually transported too. The evidence against the chiefs often had little bearing on the cattle-killing episode and in most cases minor offences were used to bring them to justice. It was soon obvious that the Government actively applied the Kaffrarian Notice as an instrument in breaking the influence of the chiefs and their allies with their temporary removal to the Western Cape. Grey had no doubt that the Xhosa chiefs had been "...clearly implicated in this great conspiracy against the European Race."⁹⁰⁾ Maclean stated openly in December 1857 that "...whatever we do must be done quickly as it will not be easy to catch the chiefs in a couple of months." He added that Major Gawler had suggested "... a clean sweep of all the Chiefs, but we must work cautiously and with certainty".⁹¹⁾

87) The effects of this Notice on the ordinary Black population is discussed in Chapter VII.

88) BK 109: Government Notice, 3.3.1857, p.52.

89) K. Gazette, 18.9.1857.

90) BK 378: Schedule 526, Maclean-Grey, 19.11.1857.

91) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 103, citing a letter addressed by Maclean to Grey dated 31 December 1857.

In September 1857 the petty chief Xosa was the first to be brought to trial. He and two of his counsellors were transported from King William's Town with sentences of three years for allowing an ox to be slaughtered at Xosa's kraal and for eating its meat.⁹²⁾ The petty chief Xaimpi was tried on 12 November before the local magistrate and Capt. Robertson, Special Magistrate. Xaimpi was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. As in every other case, Maclean submitted his findings and recommendations regarding the nature of the sentences to Grey. He referred to the petty chief's treacherous behaviour in the massacre of the three military villages in 1850, which led him to pass the highest sentence authorized for horse-stealing.⁹³⁾ Grey confirmed this sentence.

During November 1857 several other influential Xhosa chiefs were captured. Among them was Macomo who was sentenced to death for his part in the murder of a headman. His sentence was later commuted to twenty years' imprisonment on Robben Island.⁹⁴⁾ Most of the chiefs were sent to this island. Xoxo was among the chiefs to be gaoled in King William's Town in November. He was brought to town by Charles Brownlee and three assistants. On arriving within view of the capital, Xoxo obtained Brownlee's approval to dismount. He then took a piece of wood from his pouch; after chewing it he jumped in different directions trying unsuccessfully to influence the spirits.⁹⁵⁾ Xoxo was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation as an accessory to the theft of two horses.⁹⁶⁾ Before Grey could confirm the sentence, he and more than twenty other prisoners escaped from the local gaol in February 1858. Xoxo was convicted in April before the Resident Magistrate for gaol-breaking, as well as for assaulting the gaoler and a sentry. He received an additional seven years' transportation.⁹⁷⁾

Chief Tola were among the other prisoners who escaped and on his recapture he was sentenced to transportation for five years.⁹⁸⁾ Chief Umfundisi

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- 92) K. Gazette, 23.1.1858; BK 463: Proceedings of Special Court, 28.9.1857.
 93) BK 378: Schedule 524, Maclean - Grey, 16.11.1857.
 94) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 103.
 95) Brownlee: Reminiscences of Kaffir Life, p. 304.
 96) GH 20/2/1: Maclean - Grey, 18.1.1858.
 97) BK 467: Case of Xoxo, heard before the Resident Magistrate, 3.4.1858;
 BK 379: Schedule 55, Maclean - Grey, 5.4.1858.
 98) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.104.

(Qasana) and two of his sons were also lodged in the local gaol. Umfundisi later received a sentence of ten years.⁹⁹⁾ The next persons to be tried were Chief Pato and his son Mpafa, who were both transported to Robben Island for five years. Pato was soon allowed to return to King William's Town where he spent some time in the hospital.¹⁰⁰⁾ Delima, another son of Pato, appeared before a Special Court in the capital in April. This Court was presided over by the Resident Magistrate and two officers of the local garrison. Grey commuted Delima's life sentence for offences ranging from manslaughter to arson to seven years' transportation.¹⁰¹⁾ Mate, a third son of Pato, was found guilty soon afterwards of receiving stolencattle and was imprisoned for five years.¹⁰²⁾

Umhala was captured in June 1858 and lodged in the King William's Town gaol until his trial before a Special Court in the capital on 23 September. Barrington, President of the Criminal Court, and Taylor (the local magistrate) officiated at the trial which lasted five days.¹⁰³⁾ Apart from finding him guilty on charges of receiving stolen cattle, the court dealt fully with Umhala's major rôle in the cattle-killing delusion.¹⁰⁴⁾ One of the accusations against the Chief was that he had been conspiring to drive the Europeans out during this crisis, with Kreli attacking Queen's Town, Umhala taking the centre (including King William's Town) and Pato the coast.¹⁰⁵⁾ Although Maclean had recommended a sentence of fourteen years' transportation for Umhala, Grey reduced it to five years.¹⁰⁶⁾

The last Xhosa chief to be tried was Chief Stock who appeared before a Special Court in the Kaffrarian capital in May 1859. The Court consisted of the Resident Magistrate and two senior Government officials. Stock was sentenced to seven years' transportation on Robben Island.¹⁰⁷⁾ After his sentence he was lodged in the local gaol for about two months before his departure to Cape Town.¹⁰⁸⁾

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- 99) GH 20/2/1: Maclean - Grey, 18.1.1858; Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 104.
 100) BK 379: Schedule 34, Maclean - Grey, 8.3.1858; Rutherford: Sir George Grey, p.379.
 101) BK 379: Schedule 70, Maclean - Grey, 29.4.1858.
 102) BK 10: Maclean - Wodehouse, 8.11.1862, with enclosure (Return of Kaffir Chiefs undergoing Transportation on Robben Island).
 103) Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, p. 41; K. Gazette, 2.10.1858 (Notes of the Week).
 104) BK 379: Schedule 129, Maclean - Grey, 6.10.1858.
 105) K. Gazette, 25.9.1858.
 106) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.103.
 107) BK 386: Maclean - T. Giddy (Public Prosecutor), 20.4.1859, p.195; BK 380: Schedule 45, Maclean - Grey, 9.5.1859.
 108) BK 380: Schedule 80, Maclean - Grey, 26.7.1859.

In the meantime Kreli, who was regarded as the main culprit behind the cattle-killing catastrophe, did not go unpunished by the authorities. He did not, however, receive a sentence of transportation as in the case of the other Xhosa chiefs. Kreli was aware of the possibility of punitive measures against him and sent two messengers to Chief Tzatzoe in January 1858. Tzatzoe reported afterwards that this was under the pretence of asking for blankets "...but the particular object of their mission is to obtain information regarding the capturing of the Kaffir Chiefs".¹⁰⁹⁾ Kreli wanted to know specifically whether there was any talk in King William's Town of apprehending him.

About the same time the High Commissioner gave orders to the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police under Commandant Currie to expel Kreli from the territory between the Kei and Bashee Rivers. A detachment of about sixty of the F.A.M.P. arrived in the Kaffrarian capital on 10 February 1858. The real purpose of their presence was kept secret, which led to several rumours spreading around the town.¹¹⁰⁾ Currie and his men left shortly afterwards to execute their orders. They were assisted by some Thembu and a detachment of farmers from the Queen's Town district.¹¹¹⁾ Kreli and his followers fled into Bomvanaland where he remained for the following six years.¹¹²⁾ Currie returned through King William's Town on 14 March.¹¹³⁾

By cleverly using the Xhosa National Suicide, Grey and Maclean succeeded in minimizing the influence of the Xhosa chiefs within two years. The High Commissioner could therefore state with confidence:

"I feel quite satisfied that their late conduct has irretrievably destroyed that portion of their influence which was still left to them, and that henceforth we may govern the country ourselves, the Chiefs being mere dependants upon us."¹¹⁴⁾

109) BK 110: Diary, 19.1.1858; GH 8/50: Maclean - Grey, 21.1.1858.

110) Anglo-Germania, 10.2.1858, 17.2.1858.

111) K. Gazette, 20.3.1858; D.S.A.B., 1, p.687.

112) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p.119.

113) K. Gazette, 20.3.1858.

114) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, p. 104, citing a letter addressed by Grey to Labouchere dated 25 March 1857.

f. Immigration:

Sir George Grey saw large-scale European immigration schemes to British Kaffraria too as one of the cornerstones of his policy and took active steps to encourage it. He was convinced that such colonists would be of military, economic and cultural benefit to British Kaffraria. By interspersing the Xhosa population with European settlers, Grey hoped to prevent any concerted uprising of the tribes, at the same time "civilizing" the Xhosa by continuous European contact. The various immigration schemes had little direct bearing on the lives of the Blacks at King William's Town or on the Ama Ntinde tribe and will only be discussed very briefly.

In March 1855 Grey announced his proposal to settle military pensioners in British Kaffraria, his main object being to ensure peace.¹¹⁵⁾ In September Grey gave instructions for the erection of 100 cottages at King William's Town where the first pensioners could be located.¹¹⁶⁾ The so-called Pensioners' Village was commenced in October and completed a year later.¹¹⁷⁾ Only a few individual pensioner families eventually immigrated from Britain, but some military pensioners from the Cape Colony were attracted. Maclean was nevertheless forced to use the largest part of the Pensioners' Village for hospital and other purposes.¹¹⁸⁾

The next immigration scheme which Grey considered was the introduction of members of the British German Legion as military colonists.¹¹⁹⁾ King William's Town was one of the localities in British Kaffraria which was earmarked for settling these immigrants, who were mostly German. A piece of ground at the capital was surveyed for this purpose and became known as the German Village.¹²⁰⁾ After the arrival of the Legion early in 1857, about 100 persons settled in King William's Town. Only 361 wives and 195 children accompanied the 2 362 officers and men.¹²¹⁾ This unsatisfactory position was directly responsible for the immigration of a party of 211 Irish settlers, of whom 153 were young women.¹²²⁾ After their arrival in

115) Rutherford: Sir George Grey, p. 314.

116) BK 437: Grey - Maclean, 17.9.1855, p.253.

117) Butler: Life of Colley, p. 26.

118) BK 373: Maclean - Travers, 20.4.1859, p.276.

119) Rutherford: Sir George Grey, p. 361.

120) BK 17: Montagu - Maclean, 18.11.1856.

121) J. Schwär and B. Pape: Germans in Kaffraria, pp.13, 26.

122) G. Theal: History of South Africa from 1795-1872, III, p. 216; K. Gazette, 2.1.1858.

the Kaffrarian capital in November, work was found locally for about 100 of these immigrants — many of these females were employed as servants.¹²³⁾

A further 2 145 German agricultural settlers arrived in British Kaffraria between July 1858 and February 1859. Of these immigrants 127 settled in King William's Town, which boosted the town's European population and contributed to the physical expansion of the German Village.¹²⁴⁾ In 1858 Grey also decided to settle more than 400 grantee farmers in British Kaffraria. By opening up large tracts of land for farms—mostly along the main roads linking the Kaffrarian capital with East London and Queen's Town — the High Commissioner wanted to mix the territory's Xhosa and European populations.¹²⁵⁾

Before the arrival of these different groups of immigrants, British Kaffraria was little more than a Frontier region occupied by Xhosa and military forces. King William's Town was the only town of any importance. With the arrival of more than 4 000 German settlers alone, this position changed considerably — also by strengthening the capital's European population. The Black-White ratio was then more balanced, but it did not greatly affect the Xhosa's position in and around King William's Town during this era. However, more local work opportunities were obviously created.

g.

Kaffraria Proper:

King William's Town as administrative headquarters of British Kaffraria played a significant rôle in establishing British rule in Kaffraria Proper. In April 1848 William Fynn was appointed as Government Agent to the Xhosa tribes east of the Kei River.¹²⁶⁾ He was stationed at Butterworth. When Matthew Shaw succeeded Fynn at the beginning of 1852, he had his residence at Morley.¹²⁷⁾

123) BK 41: J. Parker - Maclean, 11.1.1858; BK 41: H. Barrington - Maclean, 23.1.1858.

124) BK 380: Schedule 23, Maclean - Grey, 7.3.1859; Schwär and Pape: Germans in Kaffraria, p.41; E. Schnell: Men Must Work, pp.280-290.

125) K. Gazette, 24.7.1858 (Government Notice 302, 12.7.1858), 11.2.1858 (Government Notice 29, 10.12.1858).

126) GH 14/9: Maclean - Fynn, 5.4.1848.

127) BK 422: Government Notice, 22.1.1852.

For several years this British Resident remained the only official representative in the whole territory between British Kaffraria and Natal and fell directly under the King William's Town administration. The Resident had to report regularly to the Chief Commissioner and visited the Kaffrarian capital occasionally on official business. During this phase Maclean went to Kaffraria Proper in April and May 1856. The High Commissioner instructed him specifically to visit Faku.¹²⁸⁾ The post of British Resident was withdrawn later in 1856 and Shaw returned to King William's Town.¹²⁹⁾

After Kreli was driven into Bomvanaland at the beginning of 1858, a number of Xhosa from British Kaffraria was located at Idutywa near the centre of the old Gcaleka country. Their main purpose was to assist in preventing Kreli's return. An officer was stationed there with the title of Special Magistrate for the Transkeian Territory. He had to exercise jurisdiction over the people and had to report regularly to the authorities in King William's Town. Gawler was succeeded later in 1858 by Lieut. Pomeroy Colley.¹³⁰⁾ He also executed a survey between the Kei and Bashee Rivers.¹³¹⁾ Colley was succeeded in May 1860 by W. Shepstone, who was Special Magistrate until September 1861.¹³²⁾

The Transkeian Magistrate often visited King William's Town on official business and was expected to report monthly to Maclean; special reports were submitted occasionally.¹³³⁾ Like any other head of a department in the capital, this official had to submit annual estimates of income and expenditure. The territory between the Kei and Bashee Rivers was for all practical purposes regarded as a dependency of British Kaffraria.

Grey, who in 1854 had already urged the annexation of the whole territory between the Kei River and Natal's boundaries, remained interested in achieving this object throughout his High Commissionership.¹³⁴⁾ The Home

128) DSGBK 1: Maclean - Montagu, 29.3.1856, p.46.

129) K. Gazette, 28.8.1856.

130) F. Brownlee (compiler): The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records, p.5.

131) D.S.A.B., 11, p.137.

132) K. Gazette, 5.5.1860 (Notes of the Week), 20.9.1861 (Local and Colonial).

133) BK 78: W. Shepstone - Maclean, 2.7.1860 (This volume contains valuable information on the subject).

134) Saunders and Derricourt (eds.): Beyond the Cape Frontier, p.185.

Government later authorized him to discuss the extension of British influence over Kaffraria Proper with the Xhosa chiefs involved. Grey intended to visit the territory for this purpose early in 1861, but he fell ill at King William's Town and commissioned Commdt. Currie to go in his stead.¹³⁵⁾ The High Commissioner could report to Parliament in April that arrangements were progressing satisfactorily, but the matter was not taken any further until after Grey's departure.¹³⁶⁾

h. Local Government:

In view of the Kaffrarian capital's increasing civilian population during Sir George Grey's time, the transfer of local control from the Kaffrarian Government and the military authorities to that of a competent civilian body received the High Commissioner's serious attention from 1860.¹³⁷⁾ It eventually led to the publication on 9 February 1861 of Ordinance No.1 which provided for the creation of a Municipal Corporation for the Borough of King William's Town.¹³⁸⁾

This ordinance confined voting powers to the adult male inhabitants of the Kaffrarian capital "...who possess immovable property within any Ward of the value of £25, or who shall have occupied, for a continuous period of six months...any such property within any Ward of the yearly value of £5..."¹³⁹⁾ Although the Ordinance did not exclude Xhosa specifically from the Burgess Roll, the boundaries of the five wards were such that they were effectively prevented from voting. The Burgess Roll, which was published on 14 May 1861, therefore contained no Xhosa names.¹⁴⁰⁾ The Xhosa settlements at King William's Town nevertheless formed part of the town lands which came under the jurisdiction of the new Borough Council.¹⁴¹⁾

On 1 June 1861 Henry Head was elected as the town's first mayor.¹⁴²⁾ The first Borough Council meeting was held two days later.¹⁴³⁾ This marked the beginning of a new administrative era for both Black and White inhabitants of the Kaffrarian capital.

135) Rutherford: Sir George Grey, pp.432-433.

136) K. Gazette, 3.5.1861.

137) J. Bateman: A Century of Public Service, p.6.

138) BK 106: Ordinance 1, 8.2.1861.

139) BK 106: Ordinance 1, 8.2.1861.

140) K. Gazette(Extraordinary), 14.5.1861.

141) K. Gazette, 21.6.1861.

142) K. Gazette, 4.6.1861(Government Notice 34 dated 3 June 1861).

143) Bateman: A Century of Public Service, p.9.

i. General Aspects:

There are a few general aspects which should be mentioned in this chapter with a view to a proper perspective.

Concerning military administration, the large garrison of British soldiers in King William's Town had separate institutions including a hospital, provost and an Engineers department. The military community was socially exclusive too; their soldiers had little contact with the local European community and still less with the Xhosa. This isolation was increased by the Military Reserve's position on the outskirts of the Kaffrarian capital. With the country being in a fairly peaceful state during Grey's High Commissionership, the military had little direct influence on the local Xhosa or their administration.

Interestingly enough, Sir George Grey's education policy had little effect either on the Xhosa in and around King William's Town. This important aspect remained largely the responsibility of church bodies.¹⁴⁴⁾

As far as the Fingo were concerned, many went to live at King William's Town after Sir Benjamin D'Urban's liberation of about 17 000 of them from Kaffraria Proper in 1835.¹⁴⁵⁾ Although the Fingo were close to the Xhosa in language and custom, their earlier animosity continued for many years and caused occasional problems to the authorities. In 1835 a fierce clash occurred at the Fingo Camp near the town, in which the Fingo defended themselves gallantly. Many of their Xhosa enemies were killed in the attack.¹⁴⁶⁾

The measures in 1853 to settle the Fingo in locations in the Royal Reserve reduced the numbers living in King William's Town considerably. In 1857 the Government also planned to resettle some of them located near the capital, Fort Murray and Mount Coke around Butterworth at their old "rivers".¹⁴⁷⁾ These Fingo eventually fell under the jurisdiction of the

144) See Chapter I.

145) M. Wilson and L. Thompson: The Oxford History of South Africa, 1, p. 249.

146) Smith: Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith, 11, p.66.

147) GH 8/50: Maclean - Grey, 24.12.1857.

Special Magistrate for the Transkeian Territory.

Hostile feelings between the Xhosa and remaining Fingo in King William's Town persisted and led to a "very serious fracas" in May 1861 on the flat near the German Village. About eighty Blacks, mostly Fingo, were involved and many were injured. In its report on the incident the local Gazette asserted that it was time that "...such disgraceful heathen riots were put down by the strong arm of the law"....¹⁴⁸⁾ This did happen and 27 Fingo were arrested and fined.¹⁴⁹⁾ On the whole the Fingo influence on King William's Town was slight and they were considered part of the Xhosa for administrative purposes.

Apart from the regular visits to King William's Town by Xhosa chiefs on official business, the town was used from time to time as a stop-over by Moshesh's sons. On these occasions their proper care and safety was the responsibility of the Kaffrarian Government. In July 1858 Moshesh's sons Tsekelo and Nehemia both visited the town.¹⁵⁰⁾ In December Prince George, Moshesh's second son by his Great Wife Letsea, paid the town a "royal" visit.¹⁵¹⁾ In March 1861 Tsekelo again went to the capital, escorted by Mounted Police.¹⁵²⁾ His long stay eventually forced the Kaffrarian authorities to complain to the Colonial Secretary that it involved considerable expenses for rations and the services of a policeman. Maclean had even bought Tsekelo a new suit.¹⁵³⁾ He only left King William's Town in June.¹⁵⁴⁾

Several other facets of Sir George Grey's native policy were of prime importance to the Xhosa population around King William's Town and deserve separate mention. These aspects include his measures affecting health, law and order and land tenure.

148) K. Gazette, 7.6.1861(Local and Colonial).

149) K. Gazette, 21.6.1861(Local and Colonial).

150) BK 58: Taylor(Resident Magistrate)-Maclean, 14.7.1858; Deutscher Beobachter, 10.7.1858.

151) K. Gazette, 25.12.1858.

152) BK 58: J. Burnet(Civil Commissioner, Aliwal North) - Brownlow, 22.3.1861.

153) BK 409: Brownlow - Colonial Secretary(Rawson), 29.5.1861, p.96.

154) BK 8: Letter 42: W. De Smidt(Under Colonial Secretary)- Brownlow, 8.6.1861; Bk 66: T. Giddy (Acting Magistrate) - Brownlow, 24.6.1861.



King William's Town, ca. 1860 (Bowler Print, M 624, Cape Archives).

CURE AND PREVENTION: THE MEDICAL DEPLOYMENT

a. The First Phase:

The first post of District Surgeon for the King William's Town was approved in October 1854.¹⁾ This position, however, was held by a Senior Army Medical Officer whose civilian duties were very limited and which were confined to daily visits to the prison to attend to sick prisoners and paupers, as well as attending to hygienic and dietary matters. The police and their families were also entitled to free medical treatment.²⁾ The District Surgeon's contribution towards the medical needs of the local Xhosa was therefore inadequate and negligible, but the appointment can be seen as the forerunner of a medical revolution in the region.

By 1856 there was still no civilian hospital accomodation in King William's Town. There was no civil medical practitioner within eighty miles of the town.³⁾ A proper medical service, especially for the large number of Xhosa in British Kaffraria, became an increasing need. Sir George Cathcart had referred in 1854 to the possible establishment of a district hospital for civilians in King William's Town but this idea never materialized during Cathcart's governorship.⁴⁾ With the arrival of Sir George Grey, the Kaffrarian capital could only boast of a small military hospital near the Buffalo River in the immediate vicinity of Brownlee's original mission house.

With the demoralising influence of witchcraft and superstition among the Xhosa particularly in mind, Grey soon decided to establish a proper civilian medical service in British Kaffraria. Grey especially wanted to found a system of medical relief which could compete with the witch-doctor's trade and undermine their influence. He accordingly devised a scheme for the establishment of a number of hospitals in the Province.⁵⁾ The High Commissioner envisaged the Imperial Government shouldering the responsibility of establishing and financing a central Native Hospital at King William's Town, as well as several branch hospitals.⁶⁾

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- 1) BK 437: R. Rawson (Colonial Secretary) - Maclean, 14.10.1854, p.197.
 - 2) BK 7: Letter 7, Instructions for the Guidance of District Surgeons, issued by the Colonial Office, 30.1.1856.
 - 3) Illustrated London News, 27.8.1864, p.213.
 - 4) BK 374: Schedule 128, Maclean - Cathcart, 8.4.1854.
 - 5) The idea to establish branch hospitals never materialized.
 - 6) P. Venter: Government Departments of the Cape, p.100.

Sir George Grey's first step was to offer the post of Superintendent of Native Hospitals and head of the Medical Department of British Kaffraria to Dr. John Patrick Fitz Gerald. He was Grey's former chief medical adviser in New Zealand where he held the post of Colonial Surgeon in Wellington.⁷⁾ The High Commissioner felt that this Irishman's experience among the Maoris would be an invaluable asset for his work among the Xhosa.

Dr. Fitz Gerald immediately accepted the offer and Col. Maclean was informed in January 1856 of this appointment.⁸⁾ The new Superintendent was to be stationed in King William's Town where he would have to make arrangements for temporary hospitalisation until a proper building could be completed. Fitz Gerald was instructed to undertake immediately on his arrival medical charge of the Blacks around King William's Town, as well as any missionary establishments in the neighbourhood that might wish for his assistance.⁹⁾ As Superintendent the doctor would be directly responsible to Col. Maclean.

Fitz Gerald eventually arrived in the Kaffrarian capital on 8 March 1856.¹⁰⁾ Despite a sprained knee, he could report after about a month on the Frontier that he had been around the country on horseback a great deal attending to sick Xhosas. He had also visited the Rev. Appleyard's mission station near King William's Town, as well as the Rev. Birt's establishment, and had already performed some minor operations.¹¹⁾

The Superintendent's first major task was to convert some of the cottages in the Pensioners' Village in King William's Town into a suitable temporary hospital. He selected eighteen of these cottages in Grey Street (the present Queen's Street) in the Village for conversion by the military. Cottage No. 18 was fitted up as Dr. Fitz Gerald's consulting rooms and another cottage was converted into a surgery.¹²⁾ The actual date of commencement of this hospital was 28 April 1856.¹³⁾

7) J. Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p. 31.

8) BK 128: W. Liddle (Secretary to High Commissioner) - Maclean, 22.1.1856.

9) GH 30/4: Liddle - Maclean, 22.1.1856, pp. 156-157.

10) BK 192: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.3.1856.

11) BK 100: Report by Fitz Gerald, 13.4.1856.

12) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p. 6.

13) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.3.1858 (The number of cottages was increased to twenty-three in May 1858. The Hospital was then anticipating a further extension to twenty-six cottages - BK 379: Schedule 82, Maclean - Grey, 27.5.1858).

In accordance with the wishes of the Imperial Government, the Pensioners' Village hospital was mainly intended for Xhosa patients. Europeans in distress and of poor means could, however, be admitted but the wealthier European civilians were expected to be nursed in their homes and attended by private doctors.¹⁴⁾ The large number of Black patients and the few European patients admitted to the hospital were treated identically. They queued up together, had the same beds, the same clothes, the same food and received the same medical attention.¹⁵⁾ The facilities in the Pensioners' Village nevertheless remained rather primitive. The relatives of the Xhosa patients often camped in the vicinity until the patients were discharged.

As for the staffing of this hospital, there were at the start neither European nor Black nurses, nor civil doctors and dispensers to assist Dr. Fitz Gerald.¹⁶⁾ He was obliged to find suitable Xhosa assistants in the district whom he could teach the rudiments of nursing care and who could be ward attendants. This meant that the patients, except the children and those on a milk diet, originally had to cook their own food as well as serve themselves. Children and the bed-ridden were fed by two male and two female Xhosa attendants.¹⁷⁾

Among Fitz Gerald's Xhosa staff Ned Macomo and Lot Rhai deserve particular mention. Macomo was the son of the influential Xhosa chief and turned out to be one of the doctor's most loyal helpers. He commenced work on 1 July 1856 and his monthly salary was fixed at £2, apart from rations and a few articles of furniture.¹⁸⁾ Ned Macomo served the institution faithfully, among others as interpreter to the apothecary, Mr. Engels.¹⁹⁾ His death in August 1860²⁰⁾ was deeply regretted by the hospital staff.²¹⁾ Lot Rhai was from the Buffalo Mission and became Fitz Gerald's personal interpreter. The kind-hearted doctor recommended that the interpreters be paid adequately as they sometimes had to be on duty day and night. The Medical Superintendent therefore recommended a "liberal" salary of £60 a year for them, with rations and forage, as well as proper accommodation.²²⁾ In October 1857 a further interpreter, Daly, joined the hospital staff.²³⁾

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- 14) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p.7.
 - 15) Rutherford: Sir George Grey, p.323.
 - 16) The District Surgeon and regimental doctors did assist Fitz Gerald from time to time.
 - 17) P. Laidler and M. Gelfand: South Africa: Its Medical History, p.296.
 - 18) BK 103: Maclean - R Routh (Treasurer), 29.7.1856.
 - 19) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 30.6.1856.
 - 20) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 15.8.1860.
 - 21) K. Gazette, 21.8.1860.
 - 22) Kaffrarian Museum: Fitz Gerald's Letter Book: Fitz Gerald - High Commissioner's Secretary, 12.4.1856, p.19.
 - 23) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p. 9.

With the assistance of dedicated assistants, medical relief was given to no less than 5026 patients from May to November 1856.²⁴⁾ Shortly after his arrival Fitz Gerald reported that he had treated 54 cases in one day²⁵⁾ and 214 cases in one week.²⁶⁾ This compelled him to confine his attention to the treatment of Blacks. With these heavy commitments, and being aware of the prejudices of the Xhosa population, the Superintendent soon requested the High Commissioner to be relieved of the medical charge of missionaries and missionary institutions.²⁷⁾ Grey immediately complied with this request.²⁸⁾

The reputation of the modest hospital in the Pensioners' Village had spread by the end of 1856 to far beyond the Kei River. Dr. Fitz Gerald reported that the reaction of the Xhosa to medical treatment varied greatly. On the one hand rumours were spread against this by then well-known European doctor. One of these was that the patients would get smallpox to drink in their medicine and another that the White man's medicine was made of his excrement. It was also rumoured that a man had turned into a woman for disbelieving the witch-doctors. Some people again believed that Fitz Gerald was a missionary, while others took him to be a political agent, assuming that his department was used to enhance the power and influence of Sir George Grey. There was therefore considerable fear and reluctance at first on the part of most of the Xhosa chiefs and their followers to go to the hospital. In contrast to this attitude among the Xhosa, the Hottentots and Fingo generally came in wagon-loads to this institution from Fort Peddie, Fort Cox, Fort Beaufort and many other localities.²⁹⁾

The Superintendent's success in curing blindness by removing cataracts, was a particularly positive factor in the medical staff's struggle to combat the influence of the "Kaffir doctors". These cures were regarded by the Blacks as nothing less than miracles and a growing number of them came to the Kaffrarian capital for medical relief. It was a sharp blow to the witch-doctors when the Irish doctor was

24) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 6.12.1856.

25) K. Gazette, 12.5.1856.

26) K. Gazette, 7.5.1856.

27) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Grey, 29.11.1856.

28) BK 406: Maclean - Fitz Gerald, 18.12.1856.

29) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 6.12.1856.

able to heal C'Gume's blindness. This influential counsellor had an inversion of both upper eye-lids with opacity of the cornea. Before coming to the hospital, C'Gume had consulted many witch-doctors without success.³⁰⁾

In the first ten months of the existence of the Pensioners' Village hospital Fitz Gerald had proved himself as an extremely skilful ophthalmic surgeon — in this short period he performed twenty-eight operations of which only two were unsuccessful.³¹⁾ Cataract growth was then a fairly general disease among the Xhosa and the Superintendent therefore found a wide scope for his skills. His successes in this particular field continued and the extreme gratitude of those on whom he performed these "miracles" was a source of great satisfaction to the Irishman. One Xhosa woman, Malhlali Zikoli, even sent a letter of appreciation to Queen Victoria. This letter, dated 23 June 1856, was dictated through Lot Rhai and read inter alia:

"I am very thankful to you dearest Queen Victoria because you have sent for me a good doctor, a clever man. I was sixteen years blind. Mother, O Queen, but now I see perfectly. I see everything, I can see the stars and the moon and the sun. I used to be led before, but now O Queen, I am able to walk by myself."³²⁾

Dr. Fitz Gerald demonstrated his versatility by performing an amputation of the thigh of a Xhosa man, whose leg was severely fractured in an accident. The patient had been placed under chloroform before the operation, which in itself was a remarkable feat under primitive conditions. Within less than a year of his arrival the Superintendent could also report on the successful treatment of two other cases of fracture of the thigh bone, as well as two cases of extensive lacerations of the leg and foot resulting from wagon wheels passing over the patients' legs. There had further been a variety of minor surgical operations.³³⁾

Despite continuous efforts to oppose the influence of the witch-doctors, Fitz Gerald had by then developed a high regard for some of their skills. After a long discussion with two of these doctors he wrote in January 1857:

30) K. Gazette, 31.1.1857.

31) BK 100: Hospital Returns for the Period between 1 May 1856 and 28 February 1857.

32) Cory: Rise of South Africa, V1, p.17.

33) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 28.2.1857.

"There can be no doubt that the native doctors possess a great experience and knowledge both as to the treatment of many diseases on the one hand, and the medicinal properties of plants on the other ...; and if they would not combine diabolical practices with their administration of medicine, they might do much good."³⁴⁾

The temporary hospital in King William's Town was in the meantime beginning to feel the effects of the cattle-killing delusion of 1856 and 1857.³⁵⁾ The crisis and the efforts that were made in the Kaffrarian capital to alleviate suffering and to limit the death toll is described elsewhere in this work. Dr. Fitz Gerald played a major rôle in this episode by receiving all the serious cases in his hospital. He also daily visited the Xhosa paupers under the charge of the Magistrate.³⁶⁾ Fitz Gerald furthermore assisted the "Kaffir Relief Committee" in the supervision of the "Relief House" and "soup kitchens".³⁷⁾

During the Xhosa National Suicide invaluable assistance was rendered to the Superintendent by two regimental doctors. They were Dr. Wilmans of the British German Legion and Dr. Hassard of the Cape Mounted Riflemen. These doctors were specially assigned to Fitz Gerald at the height of the suffering. Dr. Hassard was mainly employed in visiting mission stations and nearby kraals, while Dr. Wilmans was assigned to visit the chiefs' locations and detached kraals. Fitz Gerald himself mostly attended to dispensary and hospital cases.³⁸⁾ In March 1857 Wilmans even took temporary charge of the hospital.³⁹⁾ This was in the Irish doctor's absence on six weeks' sick leave, due to overwork and close confinement during the height of the cattle-killing catastrophe.⁴⁰⁾

Needless to say, the small and primitive Pensioners' Village hospital was overcrowded throughout the period of famine. This is evident from hospital figures: between May and August 1857 alone 1777 patients were treated.⁴¹⁾ Among the

34) K. Gazette, 10.1.1857.

35) Fitz Gerald believed at first that the prophet Umhlakaza's rise was an attempt to oppose his own influence and popularity.

36) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 8.10.1857.

37) On 5 October 1857, for example, Fitz Gerald and the local Magistrate visited the "Kaffir Relief House". He subsequently transferred nine women and fourteen children to the hospital. (BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 6.10.1857).

38) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 21.12.1857.

39) BK 378: Schedule 480, Maclean-Grey, 13.8.1857, enclosing a letter from Fitz Gerald dated 12 August 1857.

40) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 25.4.1857.

41) K. Gazette, 12.12.1857 (Hospital Returns from May 1856 to October 1857).

number of dispensary cases during the first two years, a large proportion was treated at the height of the destitution. This included many women and children who were suffering from hunger, fever and dysentery caused by starvation and the eating of bark stripped from trees, berries and roots. So many patients were, however, beyond human help that it became impossible to provide enough coffins. The result was that the dead were often merely wrapped in old blankets and carried from the hospital to the grave.⁴²⁾

With so much to do and so many to care for, the Superintendent of Native Hospitals soon realized the necessity for more full-time medical doctors like himself. The institution in King William's Town was sorely in need of an ophthalmic surgeon and an accoucheur, uterine cases being very common among the Xhosa.⁴³⁾ Dr. Fitz Gerald consequently approached Sir George Grey, requesting him to apply to the Royal College for Surgeons for three qualified medical assistants. This eventually led to the appointment of Dr. Charles James Egan and Dr. James Peters as Assistant Colonial Surgeons at annual salaries of £350 each. Dr. Peters' official appointment dated from 14 July 1857 and Dr. Egan's from 19 August.⁴⁴⁾ Egan was also an Irishman and was specially skilled and trained in maternity work, for which there was a dire need.⁴⁵⁾ Peters had nineteen years of medical experience in the Royal Navy.⁴⁶⁾ Among the few privileges to which these two new doctors were entitled, was a forage allowance for one horse each; horses were essential for the almost daily visits to the sick Xhosa around the Kaffrarian capital.⁴⁷⁾

Dr. Fitz Gerald was also greatly concerned about the lack of properly qualified nurses. He realised that the "lower classes" were unfit to deal with Blacks.⁴⁸⁾ The doctor at one stage entertained the hope that Grey could induce Florence Nightingale to bring out her staff of nurses as well as all the money she had collected for hospitals.⁴⁹⁾ He envisaged the benevolent influence that such a "gentle and kind" lady would have on the Xhosa:

42) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 28.12.1859.

43) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 6.12.1856.

44) The two doctors only arrived in King William's Town a few months later.

45) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p.33.

46) K. Gazette, 12.12.1857.

47) BK 2: F. Travers (Secretary to High Commissioner) - Peters, 21.4.1857.

48) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 6.12.1856.

49) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 8.12.1856.

"Miss Nigthingales charity, and presence could alone I believe remove a difficulty—the Governor could effect this. Perhaps the Crimea was for her but a preparation for S.A."50)

With the arrival of Dr. Peters and Dr. Egan the first phase of Sir George Grey's great hospitalisation experiment drew to a close. Until then Fitz Gerald alone had had to arrange for adequate staff and hospital accommodation. Despite all these administrative duties and difficulties, his reputation as a competent doctor continued to grow among the Xhosa.⁵¹⁾

b. A New Native Hospital:

Amidst the numerous demands on his time, the Superintendent of Native Hospitals always remained aware of the physical limitations and the temporary nature of the hospital in the Pensioners' Village. The need for a proper institution had already led to detailed plans and specifications being drawn up in 1855 for a large hospital in King William's Town.⁵²⁾ The documents were approved by the authorities in Cape Town by August 1855, several months before Fitz Gerald's arrival.⁵³⁾ Tenders had been invited on two occasions, but without success.

With the Irish doctor's arrival, this original plan was modified substantially to suit his own requirements and ideas. Some of the special features of the new Native Hospital such as the large bricked-in reservoir in the quadrangle for the catchment of rain, as well as the roof cistern to which the water could be pumped, were designed to withstand a siege in time of possible war. These features and the general lay-out, were probably due to Fitz Gerald's suggestions.⁵⁴⁾ The final plans were drawn by Woodford Pilkington, the Civil Engineer of British Kaffraria.⁵⁵⁾

50) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 6.12.1856 (Of course this ideal was never realised and the problem of properly trained nurses took a long time to solve).

51) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 6.12.1856.

52) BK 93: Undated and unsigned specifications for a new hospital. These documents appear to date from about the middle of 1855.

53) GH 30/4: Liddle-Maclean, 4.8.1855, p.130.

54) W. Brown: The Catholic Church in South Africa, p.88.

55) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 8.3.1858 (It was not uncommon in those days for engineers to be accomplished architects as well. An undated copy of Pilkington's plan was transferred in 1978 from the Auckland Library in New Zealand to the S.A. Public Library, Cape Town).

According to the new specifications, the Native Hospital was planned for 120 beds. The wards were to be twenty-two feet square with a height of sixteen feet from floor to cornice and twenty-five feet to the top of the ceiling. These ceilings had to be domed or pitched, terminating in an opening of four feet square, surmounted by a ventilating apparatus for carrying off the foul air and impurities through the roof.⁵⁶⁾ This type of construction was in accordance with the requirements laid down by the Royal College of Surgeons, which provided for at least 1000 cubic feet of air space per patient.⁵⁷⁾ Provision was even made for an interdenominational chapel in the Hospital. The specifications also had details about apartments for two nurses in the midwifery section and for one nurse in the ophthalmic section, as well as for two principal servants, an assistant and an interpreter. For the accommodation of the Superintendent and three surgeons, apartments adjoining the Native Hospital were recommended—each containing a bedroom, sitting room and kitchen. The Superintendent would have an additional room as office. Provision was further made for the apothecary to reside in the two rooms opposite the surgery.⁵⁸⁾ Grey was very satisfied with the plan and specifications and approved it without any alterations.⁵⁹⁾

The High Commissioner eventually selected the hill above the Fort Murray Road (now Alexandra Road) as the site for the permanent hospital.⁶⁰⁾ The allocated site occupied an area of 36 acres, extending 220 yards from the centre of the future building on either side and stretching to the ridge of the slight eminence behind. It was thought that this elevated position would help to resist an attack or a short siege, which were real threats in those unsettled times. Fitz Gerald considered it essential to have extensive grounds in case of any epidemic, so that temporary sheds might be erected outside the building for patients. The size of the Hospital, the potential increase in the number of patients and the fact that the midwifery branch had to be slightly isolated, also had to be borne in mind.⁶¹⁾

After the unsuccessful previous attempts to invite private tenders, the military

56) Illustrated London News, 27.8.1864; The King William's Town Hospital, 1864 (Booklet, probably written by Dr. Fitz Gerald), p.3.

57) K. Gazette, 30.10.1856.

58) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 19.6.1856.

59) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 19.6.1856, containing Grey's undated approval and initials next to each paragraph.

60) Grey's Letters, S.A. Public Library: No. 61, Fitz Gerald-Grey, 16.7.1885 (Fitz Gerald accompanied Grey on this occasion).

61) BK 100: Fitz Gerald-Maclean, 15.7.1856.

authorities were requested early in 1856 to make a military working party available for the erection of the Native Hospital. The Commander-in-Chief, Lt. Gen. James Jackson, was initially not in favour of this idea, because of other pressing military projects.⁶²⁾ The indefatigable Fitz Gerald realised the necessity of military assistance and therefore discussed the whole matter with Capt. Grantham of the 45th Regiment. He was at that stage still in charge of the construction of the Pensioners' Village by a military labour force. The project was nearing completion and Grantham agreed to undertake the monumental task of building the Hospital.⁶³⁾ The permission of the military authorities was granted this time for the use of a military party under the superintendence of Grantham. This was largely due to the relatively peaceful state on the Frontier.

Capt. Grantham subsequently obtained the assistance of soldiers from various regiments to assist him in the construction of the Native Hospital. During the course of the building activities, soldiers from the Royal Engineers and the 2nd, 34th, 45th and 60th Regiments formed part of his working party. Many of these men were artisans or masons. They were assisted by a considerable number of Xhosa who made bricks and quarried the stone. A horse-drawn pug mill was used in the brickyard to help in making the bricks.⁶⁴⁾ The Blacks soon proved very useful.⁶⁵⁾ This beehive of activities was aptly described in one of the biographies on Sir George Grey:

"The Kaffirs quarried stones. The military wagon carted them to the site prepared. The sappers dug the trenches for foundations. The soldiers laid the stones in solid tiers...Hands accustomed to the rifle and the sable plied the chisel and the trowel."⁶⁶⁾

By June 1856 a good start had already been made to the building and in December the frontage of the new Hospital stood about ten feet high.⁶⁷⁾ This excellent progress was maintained for the first half of 1857 - in April the dome could be

62) GH 36/1: Jackson - Grey, 21.4.1856, p.336.

63) BK 373: Letter 254, Maclean - Grey, 21.6.1856.

64) BK 406: Maclean - R. Routh (Treasurer), 27.8.1856, p.15. (The necessary forage for the horse is requested in this letter).

65) BK 373: Letter 254, Maclean - Grey, 21.6.1856.

66) W. and L. Rees: The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, p.193.

67) K. Gazette, 13.6.1856, 11.12.1856.

fixed and the entire roof of the building was on in June. The two wings were also in the process of being covered and the walls plastered.⁶⁸⁾ For unaccountable reasons the pace of construction was much slower during the second half of 1857 and particularly in 1858. Several setbacks — including structural deficiencies in the roof construction — caused further delays at the beginning of 1859.⁶⁹⁾ Two months before the opening of the Native Hospital in June 1859, Fitz Gerald was forced to take sick leave after three years of untiring service.⁷⁰⁾ Before he left for England he outlined the state of completion of the building to Col. Maclean.⁷¹⁾

In Dr. Fitz Gerald's absence the Native Hospital in King William's Town was opened on 14 June 1859. This was without any fanfare or ceremony. On that memorable day the patients were moved from the modest Pensioners' cottages into the imposing new building, with the Medical Department moving over simultaneously.⁷²⁾ Dr. Egan had been nominated by Fitz Gerald as acting Superintendent and he was responsible for the transfer of patients and equipment, as well as for receiving the new furniture.⁷³⁾ Most of the furniture and other necessities were supplied by the Military Commissariat.⁷⁴⁾ At that stage only six wards had been entirely fitted up, each capable of containing ten beds. Three of the remaining four unfurnished wards were used as workshops and stores, but were expected to be completed within a month.⁷⁵⁾ Several other unfinished items still had to be attended to.⁷⁶⁾

68) K. Gazette, 11.4.1857, 26.6.1857.

69) BK 3: Travers - Maclean, 17.2.1859; BK 93: S. Trill (Acting Civil Engineer) - Maclean, 14.3.1859.

70) Fitz Gerald returned from England in December 1859 and resumed his medical activities early in 1860 (BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Brownlow, 22.12.1860).

71) BK 380: Schedule 36, Maclean - Grey, 18.4.1859, enclosing Fitz Gerald's letter dated 14 April 1859 (For other building progress reports on the Hospital, see also the Gazettes of 27.11.1856, 7.2.1857, 14.3.1857 and 23.4.1859).

72) BK 100: Egan - Maclean, 15.6.1859 (Most of the secondary sources mention that the Hospital was opened on 11 June 1859. Egan, however, expressly stated in this letter to Maclean "....that yesterday (14 inst.) the patients were removed from the cottages into the New Hospital." Trill, acting Civil Engineer, also referred to 14 June in another letter - Bk 93: Trill - Maclean, 16.6.1859).

73) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 7.3.1859.

74) BK 96: Memo of Articles required from War Department for the use of the Civil Hospital ... King William's Town, 17.11.1858.

75) BK 93: Trill - Maclean, 16.6.1859.

76) The most important of these items was the erection of stables behind the Hospital for the medical staff. The cost of the stables was estimated at £100 and was approved in 1860. (BK 257: Maclean - Trill, 7.2.1860).

The erection of the Hospital proved to be an expensive undertaking in spite of the invaluable assistance rendered by the military. The expenditure up to the end of March 1859 amounted to £15 642-6-5.⁷⁷⁾ With the additional furniture and clothing, as well as outstanding expenses for items such as the fixing of the ceilings of the wards, the final sum was expected to be well over £16 000. Even then the cost of items like instruments, the library and dispensary fittings was not included in this figure.⁷⁸⁾

The financing of the Native Hospital was partly defrayed from the accrued interest on trust money obtained from the unexpended balance of the Kaffrarian fund.⁷⁹⁾ The other money for the erection of the building was apparently granted by the British Government, whose object with this project was to counteract and weaken the power of the witch-doctors.⁸⁰⁾ To find the necessary money to finance the further maintenance of the building, as well as unexpected expenses, Fitz Gerald already envisaged in 1856 that an extensive piece of ground should be set aside for endowment purposes. He felt that this would enable the institution to be partly independent financially, as the rentals for any such property could accrue to the Hospital.⁸¹⁾ Sir George Grey approved this scheme early in 1859.⁸²⁾

The basic idea was to expand the Pensioners' Village and to make a large number of the new plots available as Hospital endowments. The High Commissioner therefore requested the Chief Commissioner to take immediate steps to have grants drawn up for this purpose.⁸³⁾ On 16 August Deputy Surveyor-General Bryant was instructed to proceed with the survey of these plots as part of the surveying project of the whole of the Pensioners' Village extension. Titles had to be

77) GH 30/5: F. Travers - Maclean, 5.5.1859, p.79.

78) BK 373: Letter 19, Maclean - Grey, 23.5.1859, p.280.

79) BK 405: Maclean - Bishop of Grahamstown, 16.10.1855, p.422(This was probably only a minimal amount compared to the final costs of the Hospital).

80) Venter: Government Departments of the Cape, p.100.

81) BK 377: Schedule 355, Maclean - Grey, 27.11.1856, enclosing a letter by Fitz Gerald (n.d.).

82) BK 380: Schedule 31, Maclean - Grey, 4.4.1859, with Grey's undated reply.

83) GH 30/5: Travers - Maclean, 23.7.1859.

prepared⁸⁴⁾ and steps taken to dispose of these plots as soon as possible to the best advantage of the institution.⁸⁵⁾ A total of 150 out of a final number of 238 plots in the Pensioners' Village and its extension was allocated for Hospital endowment purposes. This consisted of 50 cottages in the original part and 100 erven in the enlarged section of the Village. The latter part was still vacant ground in December 1859.⁸⁶⁾

Largely because of the depressed money market, the properties with the cottages on them were still leased by 1861.⁸⁷⁾ The income derived for endowment purposes was reported from time to time in official sources.

In May 1860, for example, there was an amount of £30-16-9 to the Hospital's credit.⁸⁸⁾ By January 1861 the sum had increased to £103-4-9.⁸⁹⁾ Six of the plots in the Commissariat Reserve adjoining the Military Reserve were also later allocated as Hospital endowments.⁹⁰⁾ The eventual sale of the plots in the extended Pensioners' Village was a more profitable source of income for the Hospital Fund. A part of this endowment fund was allocated early in 1861 for the repair of the building's leaking roof.⁹¹⁾ This money remained insufficient for the proper maintenance of the Hospital. Taken as a whole, however, the major problems encountered with the construction and financing of the Native Hospital in King William's Town were overcome by 1861.

c. Treatment, Training and Regulations:

In the meantime the treatment of the sick had never been lost sight of. With the growth of the reputation of Dr. Fitz Gerald and his medical assistants, the number of Xhosa patients continued to flock to the Kaffrarian capital in increasing numbers. Among the many diseases treated were rheumatism, paralysis,

84) BK 386: Maclean - Bryant, 16.8.1859, p.386.

85) BK 408: Maclean - Taylor, 16.12.1859, p.79.

86) BK 3: Bryant (Surveyor-General) - Maclean, 14.12.1859.

87) BK 387: Brownlow - Taylor, 14.12.1861, p.59.

88) BK 66: Taylor - Maclean, 11.5.1860.

89) BK 382: Schedule 8, Maclean - Grey, 28.1.1861.

90) BK 379: Schedule 151, Maclean - Grey, 2.12.1858.

91) BK 382: Schedule 8, Maclean - Grey, 28.1.1861, with Grey's undated reply.

glandular swellings, variola, syphilis and infections of the eye. Other diseases ranged from those of the respiratory organs, the stomach and bowels to that of the skin, ears, glands, nervous systems and urinary organs.⁹²⁾ All kinds of operations continued to be performed. The greatly improved facilities of the new institution further contributed to the spreading of King William's Town's fame as one of the important medical centres in South Africa. The vast area which had to be covered by the new Native Hospital in combating illness and disease, was the largest in the country at the time. This included the whole of British Kaffraria as well as Kaffraria Proper.

The training of medical staff received proper impetus with the promulgation of the first effective hospital regulations in February 1858.⁹³⁾ These regulations provided, among others, for the training of midwives and nurses.⁹⁴⁾ A maximum of three applicants at any one time could receive training in nursing and could qualify after twelve months as nurses. Provision was also made for the instruction of students in medicine. After conforming to basic educational requirements, such students had to attend a training course of at least three years at the Hospital. Successful students would receive certificates qualifying them to practise as general practitioners.⁹⁵⁾

The ideals for the training of doctors and nurses did not materialize soon. The first two men to be admitted as medical students in Fitz Gerald's "Frontier Medical School" only enrolled in 1863 and never completed their studies.⁹⁶⁾ The nursing staff initially also remained largely unqualified. Even Mrs. Antonia Stickley, wife of the first Superintendent Steward, was apparently unqualified, although she performed the duties of matron.⁹⁷⁾ She and her husband joined the hospital staff in June 1858 and remained there until Mrs. Stickley's death in October 1860.⁹⁸⁾ Her successor as matron was Mrs. Hardy, whose

92) BK 109: Government Notice 20, 11.7.1859, p. 135.

93) BK 109: Government Notice 7, 19.2.1858.

94) Between 12 and 20 of the total number of 120 beds were allocated for midwifery cases or female diseases, which underlined the importance of the training of midwives.

95) BK 109: Government Notice 7, 19.2.1858.

96) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p.25.

97) James Stickley's main duty as Superintendent Steward was to supervise the African staff and to ensure efficient general administration.

98) BK 228: Maclean - Fitz Gerald, 15.6.1858; Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p. 17.

husband (James) was simultaneously appointed in February 1861 as Superintendent Steward.⁹⁹⁾ The first trained staff of European nurses under a qualified matron was only engaged about thirty years later.¹⁰⁰⁾ To assist the doctors and nurses with the treatment of patients, Xhosa and European orderlies were appointed. With the increasing number of German patients an additional post of German orderly was approved early in 1855.¹⁰¹⁾

Apart from the medical and nursing staff, the apothecaries played a vital role in the Native Hospital. Their success is evident from the large number of dispensary patients. Between 1 May 1856 and 30 June 1859, for example, there were altogether 15 703 such patients, of which 3 993 cases were treated between 1 May and 30 September 1856.¹⁰²⁾ In 1860 a total of 2 304 dispensary cases were treated, which shows a sharp decline.¹⁰³⁾ A regular dispensary practice was held every morning at the Hospital. The patients were sometimes provided with a return ticket on which the name, date and number of the case appeared. This was done so that any of the medical officers could easily find the reference in the dispensary book and continue the treatment, if necessary.¹⁰⁴⁾ The first two dispensers at the Hospital were Arnold Engels and Edward Gilstain. Engels served in this capacity from May 1856 to April 1858. Gilstain was employed on a semi-permanent basis for the remainder of the period under consideration.¹⁰⁵⁾

A matter that still had to be regularised was fixed visiting hours. This was essential for the smooth running of such a large institution as the Native Hospital in King William's Town. On 9 March 1860 a circular was consequently sent to the ministers of the four main denominations in the town, informing them that the newly fixed visiting hours for sick members of their flock would be between two o'clock and five o'clock daily. Visits at any other times would only be allowed in cases of death or serious illness.¹⁰⁶⁾ The same visiting hours applied to the ordinary public.¹⁰⁷⁾

99) BK 387: Brownlow - Fitz Gerald, 16.2.1861, p. 60 (Their joint annual salary only amounted to £120).

100) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p.25.

101) BK 380: Schedule 7, Maclean - Grey, 24.1.1859.

102) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 30.9.1856.

103) K. Gazette, 18.1.1861 (Government Notice 5, 13.1.1861).

104) K. Gazette, 5.6.1858 (Government Notice 15, 5.6.1858).

105) K. Gazette, 22.1.1859 (Advertisement).

106) BK 101: Circular, 9.3.1860.

107) Bateman: A Hundred Years of Medical Service, p.43.

Later in 1860 Dr. Fitz Gerald was faced with a major problem when the military authorities enquired from Col. Maclean about the number of military patients that could be accommodated in the Native Hospital. The Chief Commissioner expressed himself strongly against any such plans.¹⁰⁸⁾ Fitz Gerald also emphasized that the Black population in British Kaffraria had increased by approximately 20 000 persons between 1858 and 1860.¹⁰⁹⁾ Although the Hospital was until 1860 only used in exceptional cases by Europeans, the Superintendent pointed out that it then also had to cater for newly arrived immigrants and grantees. He felt "... that at no former period is an (Civil) Institution like this more required than at the present."¹¹⁰⁾ The wealthier European patients were charged three shillings a day and ordinary patients one shilling and three pence.¹¹¹⁾ The paupers (mostly Xhosa) were treated free of charge. Fortunately for Maclean and Fitz Gerald, the military authorities eventually decided to shelve their plans.

Another problem for the Superintendent of Native Hospitals, was the regular contravention of the existing regulations by Xhosa servants at his institution in King William's Town. These employees often brought women into their rooms, played cards and drank intoxicating liquors, to the neglect of their patients.¹¹²⁾ The outcome was that Fitz Gerald ordered all the nurses and orderlies to sleep in the corners of the wards, as was the practice in New Zealand.¹¹³⁾

d. Smallpox:

An important health aspect deserving separate mention, was the combating of smallpox in the 1850 s, with which the medical staff of the Native Hospital in the Kaffrarian capital were intimately involved. With primitive and mostly unhygienic conditions still prevailing among the more ignorant Xhosa, outbreaks of smallpox were not unexpected in British Kaffraria. Vaccinating campaigns in

108) BK 397: Maclean - Col. D'Urban, 5.6.1860, p. 131.

109) This was largely as a result of Xhosa returning from the Cape Colony, after the cattle-killing catastrophe had forced them earlier to seek work and food in the Colony.

110) BK 97: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 6.6.1860.

111) BK 109: Government Notice 7, 19.2.1858. (The charge for ordinary patients was increased in 1860 to one shilling and sixpence - BK 109: Government Notice 14, 13.6.1860, p. 158).

112) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 1.2.1860, 20.7.1860, etc.

113) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Brownlow, 7.3.1861.

the town, as well as tours in the countryside were consequently undertaken regularly by the Superintendent and his medical assistants.

Shortly after Fitz Gerald's arrival in King William's Town in March 1856, the High Commissioner impressed on him the importance of proper vaccination measures against smallpox.¹¹⁴⁾ The Superintendent then ordered vaccine from Cape Town and had circulars printed in Xhosa and English to overcome the false rumours that had been spread among the Blacks about inoculation. Fitz Gerald was very upset when some of these circulars were distributed prematurely before he had received the vaccine.¹¹⁵⁾ He was particularly worried that the Xhosa mind would be alarmed and therefore demanded all the remaining circulars back from Auditor Ayliff.¹¹⁶⁾ These circulars later turned out to be very useful.

In the middle of 1858 several cases of smallpox appeared among the Xhosa near King William's Town.¹¹⁷⁾ Despite further rumours of a possible epidemic reaching British Kaffraria from the Western Province, the authorities at first appeared to be indifferent to the preventive measures. By October 1858, however, an extensive vaccinating campaign was in full swing.¹¹⁸⁾ In one week more than 600 Xhosa and European children and adults received injections at the dispensary in the Pensioners' Village alone.¹¹⁹⁾ In the last week of October the number of vaccinations on a single day amounted to 798.¹²⁰⁾ By then almost all the Europeans of King William's Town as well as the Xhosa in and around the town had been inoculated. Towards the end of November 1858 Fitz Gerald also went on an extensive vaccination tour to cover the greater part of British Kaffraria.¹²¹⁾ Virus for protection was often extracted from Xhosa pustules.¹²²⁾

Despite all the problems encountered this vaccination campaign was so successful that only a few cases of the smallpox was reported in King William's Town. By

114) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.10.1860.

115) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean 14.4.1856.

116) BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Ayliff, 25.4.1856.

117) K. Gazette, 26.6.1858.

118) BK 109: Government Notice 24, 1.10.1858.

119) K. Gazette, 23.10.1858 (Notes of the Week).

120) K. Gazette, 30.10.1858.

121) K. Gazette, 27.11.1858 (Notes of the Week).

122) K. Gazette, 6.11.1858 (Notes of the Week).

June 1859 Maclean was able to report to the military authorities that all traces of the disease disappeared from British Kaffraria.¹²³⁾ Less than a month later, however, Dr. Egan admitted an isolated smallpox case from the Mule Train Establishment into one of the cottages set aside for this purpose close to the newly completed Native Hospital. This military case was treated in the absence of proper military accommodation so as to prevent the spread of the disease in King William's Town.

Dr. Fitz Gerald approved Egan's smallpox ward which he found on his return from sick leave at the end of 1859, but felt that this facility should be used only for those few cases which might occur in the town or in the local gaol. He subsequently refused admission to Xhosa with smallpox from surrounding districts. The doctor admitted that it appeared to be " ... a harsh, and somewhat inhuman proceeding ..." but it was a duty he owed to the town's inhabitants.¹²⁴⁾

By December 1859 a smallpox epidemic had once again broken out and had reached such proportions that several deaths among Blacks occurred in the Native Hospital. Fears were expressed that the hard labourers who were employed to bury these victims, could infect other prisoners.¹²⁵⁾ It was then decided that one of the Pensioners' Village cottages be fitted with bars to the window for use as a temporary hospital for prisoners.¹²⁶⁾

Fitz Gerald was still determined not to have any cases brought into King William's Town from outside for treatment. The medical officers were after all doing their best to combat the smallpox epidemic by their regular visits to the out-lying areas.¹²⁷⁾ The Superintendent wrote to Maclean in this regard and said

123) BK 397: Maclean - Col. J. Bissett, 17.6.1859, p.80.

124) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.10.1860.

125) BK 66: Taylor - Maclean, 19.12.1859.

126) BK 408: Maclean - Fitz Gerald; Maclean - Taylor and Maclean - Trill, 14.1.1860, p.113.

127) Fitz Gerald was assisted at first in his vaccination campaigns by Drs. Hassard and Wilmans and later by Drs. Egan and Peters (BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.10.1860).

that the magistrates should be approached to try to prevent patients from flocking to the Kaffrarian capital. Fitz Gerald at the same time recommended the establishment of a sanitary committee so that proper precautions could be taken and the town guarded against the introduction of smallpox. He was in favour of a large hut outside the town for such cases.¹²⁸⁾ This recommendation was carried out by the Kaffrarian authorities in September 1860.¹²⁹⁾

In the meantime the Fingo had been particularly affected by the epidemic. This was because their witch-doctors vigorously opposed the vaccination campaign as well as the White doctors in King William's Town who were responsible for implementing it. These witch-doctors substituted the European medicines with forked wooden pegs fixed in the ground opposite each hut. These safeguards proved ineffective, with the result that the epidemic swept away hundreds of the Fingo. In March 1860 one of the Fingo doctors also died of the disease in the Native Hospital.¹³⁰⁾ The Xhosa on the other hand who were vaccinated in great numbers, largely escaped the fatal consequences. For the same reason not a single European in the Kaffrarian capital was affected at first although in 1860 one child had a mild form of smallpox.¹³¹⁾ It was therefore mainly the Fingo who came in large numbers to the town in the hope that they might still be cured. They often travelled such large distances that they had to be supplied with pots for cooking their supplies of mealies and pumpkin.

By June 1860 the weekly rate of vaccinations in King William's Town was once more in the region of 600.¹³²⁾ Inoculations were still in full swing in September. The Europeans had to pay five shillings for a series of injections; the Blacks had the choice of paying in cash or in kind. The Xhosa were usually required to leave personal belongings or ornaments as deposits at the Native Hospital to ensure the patients' return for their full dosage of injections.¹³³⁾

128) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 12.3.1860.

129) BK 101: Taylor - Trill, 17.9.1860.

130) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 12.3.1860.

131) BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.8.1860; BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.10.1860.

132) K. Gazette, 16.6.1860 (Local and Colonial).

133) BK 109: Government Notice 20, 20.9.1860; BK 101: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 8.8.1860.

Towards the end of September 1860 smallpox also broke out at the gaol in King William's Town and several cases were reported. The matter was made worse when three prisoners with the disease escaped from the cottage in the Pensioners' Village where they had been confined. Several deaths occurred in September in the cottages and the gaol.¹³⁴⁾ The smallpox epidemic greatly subsided in intensity after that, although vaccination was continued.¹³⁵⁾ The epidemic had finally been stamped out in British Kaffraria by the beginning of 1861.¹³⁶⁾

It can be said in conclusion that the establishment of the Native Hospital in the Frontier capital was a most important turning-point in the turbulent history of King William's Town, as well as that of British Kaffraria as a whole. Its influence on the Blacks went far beyond the mere physical benefits it brought to the sick and suffering. The institution and its staff helped to break the power of the witch-doctor and served as a powerful civilizing force. Colonel Maclean therefore had some reason to say lightheartedly that " ... Grey is great, and Fitz Gerald is his witch-doctor."¹³⁷⁾

Sir George Grey was without doubt the main moving force behind the establishment of the Native Hospital and it is a fitting tribute to him that it bears his name. The institution today stands as a monument to the foresight, wisdom, idealism and energy of Sir George Grey, as well as to the unselfishness, dedication and untiring efforts of his Medical Superintendent and friend, John Fitz Gerald.

As will become apparent in the next chapter, the Hospital played a central rôle in the cattle-killing catastrophe which constituted a watershed in the history of the Xhosa Nation.

134) K. Gazette, 25 9 1860.

135) K. Gazette, 19.10.1860 (Local and Colonial).

136) BK 382: Schedule 12, Maclean - Grey, 3.2.1861, enclosing a letter from Fitz Gerald dated 2 February 1861.

137) Grey's Letters, S.A. Public Library, No. 37 : W.B. Chalmers - Fitz Gerald, 3.11.1886.

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF THE CATTLE-KILLING EPISODE

The Xhosa National Suicide of 1856/1857 — also often referred to as "the cattle-killing delusion" — is generally accepted as one of the most amazing incidences of self-destruction in history.¹⁾ This self-inflicted breaking of a nation's power illustrated the overwhelming influence of witchcraft among the Xhosa at the time. It is difficult today to believe that the prophecies of an obscure witch-doctor and the ravings of two girls could lead to the destruction of a nation's means of subsistence and to the tragic death by famine of thousands of people. According to estimates about 50 000 Blacks died on both sides of the Kei River, while between 150 000 and 200 000 head of cattle perished.²⁾

The cattle-killing mania was undoubtedly used by influential Black chiefs and the British authorities at the Cape for their own political ends. The chiefs Kreli (Sarili) and Moshesh were accused of even manipulating the situation to rouse the Xhosa and Basuto for a "combined war on the white races".³⁾ It is ironical that thousands of Blacks later literally invaded the Cape Colony as destitutes and not as conquerors.⁴⁾ This episode also showed that far-off events such as the friction between the Free State and the Basuto nation and even the Crimean War had a bearing on this national suicide. During this whole sequence of events and its aftermath, King William's Town played a major rôle which has not yet been fully acknowledged or appreciated.

An important factor which contributed indirectly to the Xhosa National Suicide, was the lung-sickness among the cattle. This killer disease reached British Kaffraria early in 1855, causing great poverty among the Blacks.⁵⁾ By May it had already reached such proportions that about 200 hides arrived in King William's Town daily, where they were bought by the traders.⁶⁾

1) Cory : Rise of South Africa, VI, p.26.

2) Brownlee : Reminiscences, pp. 138, 171; Wilson and Thompson : Oxford History of South Africa, p.258; G. Cory : Rise of South Africa, p.39.

3) BK 373 : Letter 293, Maclean - Grey, 20.3.1857, p.195.

4) Carlyle : S.A. and its Mission Fields, p.62.

5) E. Dowsley : The Cattle Killing Delusion, p.10.

6) Grey's Letters, S.A. Public Library, Cape Town : Folder 4, containing an undated letter from Bishop Armstrong to Grey. (The synopsis at the back of the letter, however, gives the date as May 1855).

In August 1855 a lung-sickness epidemic broke out in the Kaffrarian capital itself. To prevent the spread of the disease a public notice was issued on 21 August by the Resident Magistrate, stating that all afflicted cattle or any cattle appearing to have the lung-sickness had to be sent immediately to a central spot where they were to be herded together. For this object a piece of ground was assigned on the left bank of the Buffalo River.⁷⁾

The lung-sickness persisted unabatedly despite all the precautions. According to newspaper reports, it seemed to have reached a peak in British Kaffraria towards the end of 1855.⁸⁾ By 13 November, for example, large quantities of hides were offered daily in King William's Town, with many wagons arriving from Kaffraria Proper.⁹⁾ The disease continued into most of 1856 and by July, with the first real signs of the cattle-killing mania, the two phenomena could hardly be distinguished. It was evident in any case that the witch-doctors were powerless to prevent the lung-sickness and one theory advanced is that the destruction of the remaining cattle was invented by the witch-doctors to save their own reputations.¹⁰⁾

The number of cattle which eventually died of the disease in the Eastern Province, including British Kaffraria, was estimated at 92 792.¹¹⁾ Mr. Walter Scott, a local businessman, stated that he alone had purchased 1 303 000 pounds of hides at King William's Town and East London between 1 January 1854 and 31 August 1856. At an average weight of 30 pounds per hide, Scott estimated that he had bought about 43 430 hides. Most of the hides were from cattle which had died from the lung-sickness and most of these were exported.¹²⁾ Because of the town's strategic and economic importance, it can be assumed that some of the other businessmen in King William's Town also purchased considerable quantities of hides during this period. The AmaNtinde tribe was particularly affected by the disease.

7) BK 65 : Public Notice, 21.8.1855.

8) G. Journal, 17.11.1855, 24.11.1855, 15.12.1855.

9) G. Journal, 24.11.1855.

10) Dowsley : The Cattle Killing-Delusion, pp.15 - 17.

11) Cory: Rise of South Africa, VI, p.24 (To make matters worse, the so-called horse-sickness was raging at the same time, but it did not affect King William's Town.).

12) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856 - 7: Grey - H. Labouchere, 3.11.1856, p.35.

The first real signs of the unrest associated with the cattle-killing delusion were reported in April 1856 when the wife of Bula, one of Chief Kama's counselors, spread a tale of possible Russian invasion.¹³⁾ In common with the later prophecies, this "prophetess" regarded the Russians, who were the enemies of the British in the Crimean War, as their saviours. Col. Maclean was informed almost simultaneously of unrest among the Gcalekas in Kaffraria Proper. The instigator in this case was the relatively obscure witchdoctor Umhlakaza, who used his niece, Nonquase, as his medium. She was then a girl of about fifteen years who had reportedly seen strange spirits, including ancient Xhosa chiefs, at a pool known as Ekamangeni on the Gxara stream.¹⁴⁾

Umhlakaza subsequently began to spread a story of resurrection which was both familiar and fascinating to the Xhosa. He claimed that Nonquase, in her encounters with the spirits, had become aware that they were saddened by the Xhosa nation having been conquered once again during the Eighth Frontier War only three years earlier. According to Umhlakaza the white men would, however, be swept into the sea if all tribesmen killed their livestock except horses¹⁵⁾ and destroyed their corn and ornaments on a given date:

" ... Then new cattle would rise, and new clothing and ornaments be brought out by a people, who would assist the present Generation in expelling the white men, and recovering their former lands as far as Algoa Bay — These people while the news of a European peace was yet new were described as Russians, a black race headed by and intermingled with the ancestors of some of the Kaffirs, and chiefly those of the chiefs, but in later prophecies, they became the ancestors of the whole of the present generation, the Russian intermixture being allowed to drop ... " ¹⁶⁾

13) Bergh : Charles Brownlee, p. 412.

14) J. Meintjes : Sandile, p. 240.

15) It was significant that the Xhosa were not to destroy their horses, or arms and ammunition, which strengthened the authorities' conviction that the excitement was stirred up for political and military reasons.

16) BK 373 : Letter 294, Maclean - Secretary to High Commissioner, 25.3.1857, p. 196 (Umhlakaza excluded the Fingo from the injunction to kill their cattle).

In King William's Town itself, the beginning of the unrest coincided with a marked increase in cattle-lifting. Early in May 1856, one night alone, thirteen cattle were driven from the town's kraals. The stealing thereafter continued and by the middle of July hardly a day passed without an act of theft. In one case the hides of three oxen with the brand of the owner thereon, were sold in town less than a week after being stolen.¹⁷⁾ On the night of 29 July the local kraals of Mr. Williams, Government Contractor, were broken into and sixteen cattle and six sheep stolen. No wonder that the Grahamstown Journal's local correspondent remarked:

"About King William's Town the conduct of the Kafirs is very audacious and daring".¹⁸⁾

With Paramount Chief Kreli's active involvement, excitement was spreading; by July 1856 reports were received that Kreli had sent influential messengers to confer with Xhosa chiefs in British Kaffraria. The purposes of the visits ostensibly was to persuade the chiefs to join in the cattle-killing and the destroying of the crops, which for Kreli meant eventual war. Messengers were sent to all important chiefs, as well as to Jan Tzatzoe. Maclean afterwards reported:

"... It is worthy of remark that Kreli, contrary to his usual custom ... and in some degree contrary to Kaffir Etiquette communicated on this occasion directly with Umhala, Sandilli, and Macomo and even with so minor a Chief as Jan Tzatzoe."¹⁹⁾

17) G. Journal, 10.5.1856, 15.7.1856.

18) G. Journal, 2.8.1856 (Postscript).

19) BK 373 : Letter 294, Maclean - Secretary to High Commissioner, 25.3.1857, p. 198.

Although Umhlakaza predicted that his prophecies would be fulfilled with the appearance of the full moon in the middle of July 1856, nothing happened and the date of resurrection was postponed until 16 August.²⁰⁾ The killing of cattle was immediately resumed and large quantities of hides were once more brought into King William's Town — on one day no less than 1000 hides were bought up.²¹⁾ Unprecedented sales of live cattle also took place in town, despite Umhlakaza's earlier stipulation that all the cattle had to be killed. Kreli had, however, soon allowed their sale as an additional incentive to get rid of them. These cattle were sold at ridiculously low prices. Cows only fetched eleven shillings and full-grown oxen fifteen shillings — less than the value of the hides.²²⁾

The "cattle-killing mania"²³⁾ also had an immediate effect on public works. Of the estimated 112 Blacks who were engaged on the construction of the road between King William's Town and Grahamstown, only 3 remained after the end of July 1856. Up to that time about 60 Xhosa were occupied on road-building between the Kaffrarian capital and East London. In this instance too, all but 7 of these labourers left at the end of July.²⁴⁾ The number of Blacks employed on public works later increased dramatically when food became unobtainable.

At the beginning of August 1856 rumours of a possible attack on King William's Town were afoot. The picquets in the capital were consequently doubled on 5 August and an extra guard sent to Fort Hill. Col. Pringle Taylor, Commander of the Forces in British Kaffraria, gave instructions that no soldier in town would be allowed to be away from his quarters after dark. The two redoubts at King William's Town, Fort Mackinnon and Fort Cloete, were also occupied by the 73rd Regiment as a precaution against a sudden attack.

20) BK 373 : Letter 293, Maclean — Grey, 20.3.1857, p.192.

21) G. Journal, 16.8.1856.

22) Rutherford : Sir George Grey, p.349.

23) Maclean first used this term on 28 July 1856 — BK 373: Letter 266, Maclean — Liddle (Secretary to High Commissioner), 28.7.1856, p.142.

24) BK 373 : Letter 269, Maclean — Liddle, 7.8.1856, pp.147-8.

The military force on the Frontier as a whole was said to be better prepared and more efficient than at the beginning of any former outbreak. The Frontier Armed and Mounted Police was in a state of perfect preparation too.²⁵⁾ On at least two occasions in August it was reported that a Xhosa attack on the Kaffrarian capital was imminent, but eventually nothing happened.²⁶⁾ Maclean was of the opinion that many of these rumours were fabricated by Europeans in the town and elsewhere who should have known better.

The reduction of cattle herds through slaughtering and sales (largely in King William's Town), went hand in hand with the destruction or sale of large quantities of corn. The planting of corn also ceased among many tribes. Charles Brownlee was the first to suggest in August 1856 that as much corn as possible be bought up at the existing low prices. The corn could then be stored for future distribution as seed and food. Sir George Grey saw the merits of this proposal and instructed Maclean to apply to the military authorities for Commissariat stores in King William's Town and at other military posts for the purpose of storing this corn, even hiring builders for the purpose, if necessary.²⁷⁾

The various magistrates actively assisted in this project. Charles Brownlee, for example, obtained large quantities of corn in the Gaika District for as little as 7/6 per 180 pounds. This was exactly half as cheap as the current market price in the Kaffrarian capital.²⁸⁾ Brownlee further proposed:

"... Whatever may not be required here can be conveyed to King William's Town, where it will be most wanted."²⁹⁾

25) G. Journal, 9.8.1856.

26) K. Gazette, 14.8.1856.

27) GH 30/4 : Grey - Maclean, 14.8.1856, p.192.

28) Bergh : Charles Brownlee, pp. 431 - 432.

29) K. Gazette, 4.9.1856 (Several letters about the cattle-killing mania was published in this issue for the general information of the public. The quotation is from a letter by Brownlee dated 22 August 1856).

The general uncertainty and expectations of war immediately before Umhlakaza's predicted Day of Resurrection on 16 August 1856, forced the majority of the missionaries in British Kaffraria to remove most of their furniture to King William's Town.³⁰⁾ Immediately following Umhlakaza's failure to produce his new cattle, corn and men on the said date, the slaughtering of cattle temporarily declined. This was reflected by the fact that for a couple of weeks no hides were brought into town.³¹⁾

Towards the end of August 1856, during this lull, the chiefs Siwani and Kama both visited the Kaffrarian capital and promised their allegiance and co-operation to the Government in times of emergency.³²⁾

Tzatzoe himself remained faithful and persuaded many of his followers to continue to oppose this act of self-destruction. All that time Sandile and his Gaikas were also still hesitant to take part.

In the meantime Sir George Grey had realised that the situation on the Frontier was explosive and that the outbreak of another war was likely. Military reinforcements were expected and Grey gave instructions that every effort should be made to delay any outbreak until after their arrival. Grey left for the Frontier on 18 August 1856 to be on the spot.³³⁾ He arrived in King William's Town on 2 September in the company of Lt. Gen. James Jackson, Commander of the forces in South Africa.³⁴⁾ After their arrival the High Commissioner stayed on the Frontier for more than a month, using the Kaffrarian capital as his headquarters. From there he tried his utmost to counteract the mania.

30) G. Journal, 16.8.1856.

31) K. Gazette, 21.8.1856.

32) K. Gazette, 28.8.1856.

33) GH 30/4 : Grey — Maclean, 25.8.1856, p.192 (Grey's previous visit to the capital was in June 1856, but the excitement had then hardly commenced).

34) K. Gazette, 14.9.1856.

Grey and Jackson gave high priority to putting British Kaffraria in a state of military preparedness during this lull. With the timely arrival of four Imperial regiments from Britain, strong garrisons were placed in King William's Town, East London, Fort Beaufort and at a few other localities. Many of the small detached posts were abandoned. Military escort parties patrolled the main roads and in September 1856 police patrols were assisting on the road between King William's Town and East London.³⁵⁾ The Cape Mounted Riflemen, who had a large contingent stationed in town, also constantly sent out patrols. They assisted the police in protecting life and property, later searching the hills and valleys for famine victims and collecting the dead bodies lying about.³⁶⁾ At the beginning of October 1856 a company of Royal Sappers and Miners³⁷⁾ marched into King William's Town, while detachments of different regiments stationed in the Colony³⁸⁾ arrived on 14 October.³⁹⁾

During his extended visit, Grey had separate interviews with most of the British Kaffrarian chiefs, including Sandile, Macomo, Siwani, Pato and Delima. These interviews were either held in town or at the Great Places of the chiefs.⁴⁰⁾ About that time Kreli again sent messengers to various Ciskeian tribes, ordering them to kill their cattle and destroy their corn.⁴¹⁾ Grey reacted on 27 September 1856 with a letter of warning to Kreli from King William's Town. In a letter of the same date to Moshesh, the High Commissioner accused him of sending messages to Kreli to improve his own political position. Sandile received a simultaneous warning from King William's Town that he should not listen to any of Kreli's threats.⁴²⁾ Despite these letters the position deteriorated. Having, however, done his best to improve the unsettled state of the Frontier and having fallen ill in the process, the High Commissioner

35) Rutherford : Sir George Grey, pp.351, 355.

36) Young : Boot and Saddle, p.67.

37) This designation was changed almost immediately afterwards when both corps were merged as the Royal Engineers.

38) K. Gazette, 16.10.1856.

39) It was later widely acknowledged that these reinforcements played a major part in preventing the cattle-killing delusion from developing into a fullscale war. (K. Gazette, 26.2.1861 - Leader).

40) K. Gazette, 11.9.1856, 25.9.1856.

41) BK 10 : Grey - Umhala, 27.9.1856.

42) GH 26/62 : Grey - Sandile, 27.9.1856, p.43.

left King Williams Town on 3 October. ⁴³⁾

A messenger from Mapassa's tribe named Tynlu (sic), ⁴⁴⁾ arrived at Tzatzoe's kraal on 11 October 1856, conveying a similar mandate to Tzatzoe from Kreli as those delivered earlier to the various other chiefs. According to the Chief the messenger came to his tribe with the excuse that he wanted presents from his friends living in Tzatzoe's country. On 15 October Chief Tzatzoe subsequently gave Col. Maclean the following garbled account of the "news" conveyed by this messenger :

"That it is reported across the Kei that Adam our first father has come upon the earth, accompanied by God and two sons of God, together with a numerous new people, who are at present invisible to all except such as visit the prophet Umhlakaza for the purposes of seeing them. That Adam has lately proceeded to Moshesh to direct his people to destroy all their cattle and corn, and not to cultivate; that similar messages have been taken by the two sons of God, — one to Kreli, ... the other to Faku ... that Satan is likewise let loose in the country to take to himself all such who do not act up to the mandate to kill cattle, etc." ⁴⁵⁾

Tzatzoe then assembled his tribe and told them that in reply to this message he thanked Kreli and Umhala for the news. He, however, wanted to know when the new people would appear with the cattle promised by Umhlakaza as his people were dying of hunger because almost all their cattle had died of lung-sickness. ⁴⁶⁾ Jan at the same time impressed on his tribe the necessity of cultivating their gardens. The High/Commissioner's reply on being informed of these facts was:

"Tell Jan that he is acting well and to persevere in this good conduct — his doing so shall not be forgotten." ⁴⁷⁾

43) BK 110 : Diary 3.10.1856.

44) The messenger's name is given in other sources as Tyulu.

45) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856 - 7; Grey - H. Labouchere, 23.10.1856, p. 51.

46) BK 89 : R. Fielding (Acting Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe) - Maclean, 14.10.1856.

47) BK 377 : Schedule 340, Maclean - Grey, 16.10.1856, enclosing a letter from R. Fielding (Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe) dated 15 October 1856 and with Grey's undated reply. (Fielding mentioned three messengers and not one).

By November 1856 the general position had improved slightly and many people in King William's Town felt that the danger of a major disturbance or an invasion had subsided. ⁴⁸⁾ Alarms and rumours nevertheless continued to reach the Kaffrarian capital from the east and north-east and prospects of a carefree Christmas seemed bleak. ⁴⁹⁾ Although affairs around the town itself appeared fairly normal, with many of Tzatzoe's tribesmen cultivating their gardens, ⁵⁰⁾ thefts and even assaults were again increasing. ⁵¹⁾

The military and civil authorities at King William's Town and Fort Murray received regular information on the continued cattle-killing from friendly chiefs like Tzatzoe, as well as from secret agents and other informants. One of these trustworthy informers who had visited Kaffraria Proper shortly before, gave the Chief Commissioner on 8 December 1856 news of a meeting with Kreli. The latter had asked about recent developments in the capital and " ... what the white people thought of the talk going on in the country about Umhlakaza and a new people, and about the order to destroy cattle and corn, and not to cultivate." ⁵²⁾

On 11 January 1857 Fielding, as acting Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe, also conveyed secret information to Maclean from Chief Tzatzoe himself. Fielding stated:

" ... The Kaffirs are now destroying their Guns, Assegais and Ammunition but that in his (Tzatzoe's) opinion the excitement will soon be over as the people are suffering from hunger ... Many Kaffirs would become unbelievers ⁵³⁾ but for fear of the believers who will insist on the cattle all being destroyed because untill then the new cattle cannot come out of the Earth.

48) K. Gazette, 13.11.1856.

49) K. Gazette, 11.12.1856.

50) BK 377 : Schedule 357, Maclean - Grey, 1.12.1856, enclosing letter from Fielding (no date).

51) K. Gazette, 11.12.1856 (Letter from "Molendus" dated 28 November 1856).

52) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856 - 7 : Grey - Labouchere, 25.3.1857, p. 80.

53) The Unbelievers (Ama Gogotya) were those who did not believe in Umhlakaza's prophecies. They refused to kill their cattle or destroy their corn, as opposed to the so-called Believers (Aba Tamba).

"Jan Tzatzoe has concurred with me in my wish to induce the Unbelievers to collect together with their cattle for mutual support and has intimated the same to some of the tribe." 54)

At the beginning of 1857 the sequel to Umhlakaza's prophecies moved towards a climax. The first reports of great distress and even death by starvation reached King William's Town. Cattle and other sources of food, including goats, were brought into town daily and sold at very low prices. The Blacks at the same time purchased large quantities of blankets. 55)

Early in 1857 the threat of a civil war between the Believers and Unbelievers was also present. Although an attack on the small number of Europeans in King William's Town was a possibility at this stage, the Aba Tamba turned instead on the Unbelievers in their own rank. 56) The Xhosa, though not yet weakened by starvation, were beginning to feel desperate. On 5 January 1857 Maclean, however, already predicted that hunger, the expected arrival of the British German Legion and a lack of concerted Black action would prevent any serious war efforts — "We shall only be left to guard against the danger arising from famine, and consequent acts of theft and violence." 57) These words were particularly prophetic for King William's Town.

By January 1857 another prophetess had arisen in Umhala's territory. 58) She was Nonkosi who was then about nine years old. According to later evidence Nonkosi's uncle Kwitchi, a councillor of Umhala, was one of the main instigators in British Kaffraria during the cattle-killing delusion and worked in close collaboration with his niece. Nonkosi also saw influential ancestors as well as heads of cattle and even fire rising from a vlei near the Umpongo

54) BK 89 : Fielding - Maclean, 11.1.1857. (This meant that several abandoned their gardens and that these would be plundered).

55) K. Gazette, 3.1.1857.

56) In a memorandum about the proposed immigration of the British German Legion, Col. J. Bisset reported on 30 June 1856 that there were 616 civilians in the capital. The total number of civilians in Kaffraria was estimated at 1 200 (DSGBK I, p. 15).

57) BK 10 : Maclean - Grey, 5.1.1857.

58) Charles Brownlee was aware from at least 25 January 1857 of this prophetess (Bergh : Charles Brownlee, p. 503).

River not far from King William's Town. ⁵⁹⁾ Nonkosi preached almost the same message as Nonquase and strongly influenced the Unbelievers among both the Ndlambe and Gaika tribes in British Kaffraria. Nonkosi was particularly responsible for Sandile and his remaining followers finally succumbing to all the pressures and passions. The fact that Sandile, however, refrained so long from actively taking part in the killing of cattle and in the destroying of corn probably prevented a concerted onslaught on the Whites, for by this time Kreli's Gcalekas were already weak and dying. ⁶⁰⁾

Even before the final date for the resurrection was fixed, several kraal inhabitants at a short distance from King William's Town had killed almost all their cattle. According to a newspaper report people were seen at kraals near the capital who were tightly girded in to still their hunger. The number of hides brought into town had by then diminished, which was in contrast to ornaments and utensils which had suddenly become cheap and readily available. The report mentioned:

"Kaffir truck has been very scarce in this town for the last four or five months, and during the whole of that time there has been a great demand for it. Now, in order to eke out an existence, they are selling jackchain, beads, and all kinds of ornaments at a fourth of their former value." ⁶¹⁾

The situation had soon deteriorated so that Dr. Fitz Gerald warned against an epidemic resulting from the scarcity of food. He suggested that preparations be made for medical chests and medical comforts in outlying areas and at those mission stations which were not within easy reach of his hospital. ⁶²⁾ Assaults and thefts showed a marked increase and several horses were also stolen from the town's commonage. ⁶³⁾

59) Cory : Rise of South Africa, VI, p. 35.

60) J. Burman : Disaster Struck South Africa, p. 32.

61) K. Gazette, 7.2.1857.

62) BK 378 : Schedule 398, Maclean - Grey, February 1857 (no specific date), enclosing Fitz Gerald's letter of 13 February 1857.

63) K. Gazette, 14.2.1857.

On Wednesday 18 February 1857, the final Day of Reckoning and Resurrection, the sun rose in the east and set in the west as usual. No hurricane came to sweep all the Unbelievers and Whites from the earth. No ancestors rose from the dead with their countless herds of cattle and large quantities of corn. No Russians appeared to drive the British into the sea and neither was youth restored to the old.⁶⁴⁾ As was to be expected, Umhlakaza once again had his excuses for the failure of his prophecies, but this did nothing to alter the gloomy prospects facing those thousands who had heeded the prophet's call. Surprisingly enough, Umhlakaza succeeded in creating further excitement and expectations during the ensuing months and many Believers continued to kill their cattle.⁶⁵⁾ This date can, however, be regarded as the turning-point in the series of alarms.

Sir George Grey fully realised that the existing position could result in war and he once again departed for the Frontier in February 1857. He reached King William's Town on 23 February to observe the whole situation personally. His arrival was generally regarded as very opportune, as on no previous occasion the affairs had been so unsettled.⁶⁶⁾ Rumours of war were still widespread but fortunately for Grey the tribes had by then become too weak and disunited by intertribal jealousies to seriously consider war. The simultaneous arrival of a part of the British German Legion, of which a large contingent was settled in the Kaffrarian capital, almost certainly also influenced the more warlike chiefs against any such step. This military force demonstrated to the Xhosa the overwhelming strength of the Government⁶⁷⁾ and Kreli in fact thought that the Legion had been imported from the Colony to prevent any war plans.⁶⁸⁾

During his month-long stay in the Kaffrarian capital, Sir George Grey took

64) 1857-8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7: Grey - Labouchere, 6.3.1857, p.67.

65) K. Gazette, 7.3.1857; BK 89: C. Brownlee - Maclean, 1.4.1857; K. Gazette, 6.6.1857.

66) K. Gazette, 28.2.1857.

67) Du Toit : The Cape Frontier, p.101.

68) Dowsley : The Cattle-Killing Delusion, p.67 (The new magisterial system also made it difficult to organise tribal warriors).

extremely wretched. Many of the Natives of Kaffraria have nothing left to eat — having entirely cleared their kraals out during the recent exitements. Their food is now wild berries and edible roots." 74)

The number of registered labourers reached a climax in July 1857 when altogether 6 352 Xhosa passed into the Colony.⁷⁵⁾ The total official figure for 1857 was given as 28 892, although a substantial number of Xhosa, especially from Kaffraria Proper, simply crossed the borders without registering themselves.⁷⁶⁾ Thus during 1857 at least 30 000 labourers from both sides of the Kei River entered the Colony.

Sir George Grey's labour policy undoubtedly had a far-reaching effect in reducing the number of deaths from destitution, as well as in preventing chaos and uncontrolled emigration into the Colony. The introduction of cheap and plentiful labour into this territory as a result of the cattle-killing crisis was indeed one of the most important results of the event.⁷⁷⁾

The third important administrative step taken by Sir George Grey was the tightening of British Kaffraria's security measures with the publication of an important Government Notice dated 3 March 1857.⁷⁸⁾ As is mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, this proclamation was not only effectively applied to check the growing crime rate during the mania but also had far-reaching effects on the subjugation of the Xhosa chiefs.

The fourth measure was, in the words of Grey " to organize the unbelieving natives, who still preserve their cattle and property, that they may successfully resist and put down the marauding believers."⁷⁹⁾ The military and village police played a major rôle in this respect.⁸⁰⁾ Tzatzoe himself continued to do what he could to collect the Unbelievers in the AmaNtinde tribe together for mutual support. This was at a time when whole tribes were broken up by Believers moving away from Unbelievers. This directly affected the Ama Ntinde tribe when Kona and some of his followers were moved in March 1857

74) K. Gazette, 25.4.1857 (See also K. Gazette 4.4.1857, 18.4.1857, 25.4.1857, etc.

75) Du Toit : The Cape Frontier, p.253.

76) BK 379 : Schedule 6, Maclean - Grey, 18.1.1858 (Returns).

77) Dowsley : The Cattle-Killing Delusion, p.77.

78) BK 109 : Government Notice, 3.3.1857, p.52.

79) 1857-8, XL(2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7: Grey - H. Labouchere, 6.3.1857, p.67.

80) K. Gazette, 12.9.1857 (Leader).

from near Fort Murray to Tzatzoe's location for the protection of his cattle.⁸¹⁾ Kona was the son of Chief Macomo and one of the chiefs who refused to kill his cattle.⁸²⁾

Towards the middle of 1857 the lack of food reached famine proportions. The Kaffrarian Government was, however, ready to assist as far as possible in minimising starvation. Large quantities of grain had been gathered in King William's Town and elsewhere for this purpose. Col. Maclean also sent an instruction at the beginning of June 1857 to the Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe, as well as to the other special magistrates, to report monthly about any distress among the aged, infirm and young in the vicinity of mission stations. According to this circular food and labour had to be provided to the young who had been deserted by their families. The infirm and sick who had been unable to accompany their families to the Colony for service, also had to be cared for.⁸³⁾ The Chief Commissioner requested the Rev. John Brownlee too on 25 June to report all cases of extreme destitution in the vicinity of his Mission Station, or in Tzatzoe's location.⁸⁴⁾

Signs of severe famine were by then noticeable from the flow of Xhosa registering for Colonial service in King William's Town. On 4 July 1857, for example, it was reported that several hundred Blacks passed through the capital during the preceding few days. They were all registered for service with farmers.⁸⁵⁾ Regular reports of death by starvation also started to reach the town. In the King William's Town Gazette of 25 July it was stated that two Xhosa had died in the immediate neighbourhood during the previous week while about a thousand people had arrived in search of food. Great numbers of "starving wretches" could be seen walking about the local streets. They were kindly treated generally.⁸⁶⁾ Another report mentioned that a Mr. Crouch had counted twenty dead bodies in the thorn bushes between the Kei River and King William's Town. They had apparently all been on their way to the town, but had collapsed and died on the way.

81) BK 110 : Diary, 14.3.1857.

82) Meintjes : Sandile, p. 253.

83) BK 114: Circulars to Special Magistrates, 9.6.1857, 10.6.1857.

84) BK 406 : Maclean - Brownlee, 25.6.1857, p.161.

85) K. Gazette, 4.7.1857.

86) K. Gazette, 25.7.1857.

At that stage the demand for labour was fortunately still greater than the supply in the Cape Colony or for that matter in the Kaffrarian capital itself. The availability of labour did not, however, necessarily alleviate starvation. In a letter of 31 July 1857 to the press, J.H. Parker described the many emaciated women and children he had seen in the town's suburbs. According to him five deaths had occurred in the previous few days.⁸⁷⁾

The hospital in King William's Town played an indispensable rôle throughout the famine. All the serious cases were referred to this institution, which was still housed in the Pensioners' Village. Dr. Fitz Gerald gave as much medical assistance to the dying as was possible. He personally thought that the cattle-killing movement could be attributed to professional jealousy on the part of Umhlakaza who had realized that witchcraft was losing its importance. The prophet's actions to counteract his own influence even led to the doctor fearing for his own safety. Maclean reported Fitz Gerald's anxiety to Grey, stating:

"...At times he thinks his life in danger, and has I believe gone so far as to speak of applying for a sentry."⁸⁸⁾

With the rise of the prophet, the Xhosa had ceased coming to the hospital in large numbers; as destitution grew this trend was reversed.⁸⁹⁾ Fortunately the Superintendent was assisted during the cattle-killing mania by Dr. Wilmans of the British German Legion and Dr. Hassard of the Cape Mounted Riflemen. Fitz Gerald's great responsibilities and exertions during the crisis impaired his health seriously.⁹⁰⁾

In the meantime a most important development occurred in July 1857 with the establishment of the so-called "Kaffir Relief Committee" in King William's Town. This committee played a major rôle in the large-scale relief of destitutes who were streaming into the Kaffrarian capital. During the few months of its existence the committee's activities were almost inseparable from the relief work undertaken by the Government.

87) K. Gazette, 1.8.1857.

88) GH 8/49: Maclean - Grey, 18.12.1856.

89) Dowsley: The Cattle-Killing Delusion, pp.54-55.

90) See also Chapter V.

A provisional relief committee was constituted informally during a visit of the Bishop of Grahamstown to King William's Town — apparently in the middle of July 1857. On this occasion the Bishop met a number of interested citizens who were willing to assist those in distress. The Bishop was prepared to serve as president, the Resident Magistrate as vice-president and Mr. Stair Douglas as secretary of such a committee. In an advertisement it was stressed that the committee had no intention of interfering with the Government's existing system of relief through its magistrates; however, it would be impossible for the authorities to reach all cases of distress and the crisis created ample opportunities for private charity. The idea was therefore to assist the Government where possible.

The interim committee was particularly keen to provide shelter for those men, women and children in the last stages of emaciation who were beginning to reach King William's Town daily:

" They require relief of a temporary nature, other than that which Government provide or which any Government can be expected to provide.... Some have been found dead by the roadside It is such cases as these, guarded by the strictest limitations, that the Committee propose to provide for, — giving relief as a general rule, in kind, that is to say in cooked food and medical comforts In no instance will an able-bodied person be admitted to relief The distinctive character of the aid which the Committee wish to afford is local and temporary...." 91)

In the advertisement the public was also asked to make donations in cash or in kind and invited to a public meeting on 20 July. The editor of the King William's Town Gazette expressed serious doubts in the same issue as to the wisdom of the Committee's proposals which could lead to thousands of Xhosa rushing to the Kaffrarian capital. The possibility of free food without the necessity to work would also attract the lazy and create a serious accommodation problem. The editor was of the opinion that relief work was purely a matter for the Government and that the proposed projects could easily lead to unnecessary evils. The starving would be too weak to travel to King William's Town to receive the benefits intended for them and the charity would be wasted on the wrong persons. 92)

91) K.Gazette, 18.7.1857.

92) K. Gazette, 18.7.1857 (Leader).

The public meeting on 20 July took place at the General Institute and was fairly well attended. The Reverend Watkins pointed out that the provisional committee had no powers or authority to appoint themselves. At his suggestion the committee was therefore dissolved and immediately re-elected constitutionally. Mr. Taylor (the Resident Magistrate) acted as chairman at the meeting and gave an opening address after his formal election as vice-president. This was followed by a decision to invite all the town's clergymen, as well as Dr. Fitz Gerald to join the general committee.⁹³⁾ A management sub-committee was also appointed, consisting of the Rev. Chapman, Major Douglas (60th Rifles), Mr. Stair Douglas, Mr. Joseph Levy and Mr. James Parker. Three other members, namely the Rev. Watkins, the Magistrate and Mr. M.B. Shaw, were authorised to collect subscriptions. The meeting seemed to be fully aware of potential opposition from the Government and this led to a more exact definition of the Committee's duties. Subscriptions were subsequently invited and a considerable amount of money was immediately raised. At that stage £91 had already been collected.⁹⁴⁾

The local editor again expressed concern on 25 July 1857 about the Relief Committee's activities. He reiterated:

" ... A vague notion may go abroad amongst the Kaffirs to the effect that food is to be had in King William's Town. Thus would their attention be averted from the colony, and the distress gathered in this place When we have the fact presented to our notice that a thousand individuals have already congregated around the town, does it not assume the appearance of a question that can only be properly dealt with by Government." ⁹⁵⁾

By the end of July 1857 the Kaffir Relief Committee had received £187-7-0 in donations. Dr. Fitz Gerald himself donated £5. The Relief Committee was in full operation and many cases of starvation and misery were met during the last week of the month.⁹⁶⁾ With this firm foundation, the committee's next step was to approach the Kaffrarian Government on 4 August to obtain approval for their relief measures.

93) The Rev. John Brownlee immediately accepted the invitation to join the committee (K. Gazette, 25.7.1857).

94) K. Gazette, 25.7.1857 (Leader, report by correspondent and advertisement).

95) K. Gazette, 25.7.1857 (Leader).

96) K. Gazette, 25.7.1857, 1.8.1857.

In his reply to the committee, Maclean stated his view that the proposals did not conflict with the Government's measures. The Chief Commissioner added that he would instruct that any available cottages in the Pensioners' Village be handed over to the Committee. This was in addition to those cottages already put at their disposal. Maclean felt strongly that relief should mainly be given to those Xhosa who intended to enrol for service in the Colony.⁹⁷⁾

Colonel Maclean also conveyed his views on this matter to the High Commissioner and stated that the Relief Committee had neither sufficient funds nor accommodation. The Kaffrarian Government on the other hand had taken every possible measure to meet the distress in King William's Town and elsewhere in the Province. A large number of Xhosa had been cared for in the capital until they were strong enough to proceed to the Colony. Maclean added with concern that the belief created by the Relief Committee that food was generally available to all those who required it, had already drawn large numbers of Blacks to the town from every district, including Kreli's country.⁹⁸⁾ It was therefore not surprising that reports of deaths in and around the town appeared regularly in the newspapers. In the Gazette of 8 August, for example, it was reported that a family of six had been found dead in the veld near King William's Town.

The Kaffir Relief Committee was at that time treating an average of sixty Xhosa daily and was assisted by a group of about twenty European ladies. It soon also introduced the sale of mendicity tickets at three pennies each, which entitled the holders to a meal at the soup kitchens established by the Committee. If the holders were in need of further relief after a medical examination, they would be admitted to the Relief House which was inspected daily by Dr. Wilmans.⁹⁹⁾

97) BK 406 : Maclean - Douglas (Honorary Secretary), 6.8.1857, p.182.

98) GH 8/50 : Maclean - Travers (Secretary to High Commissioner), 6.8.1857.

99) K. Gazette, 8.8.1857, 15.8.1857.

Sufficient funds remained a major problem for the Relief Committee, although the Wesleyans and other religious bodies collected widely for this project.¹⁰⁰⁾ Another problem was the discharge of those who had been declared fit for service by Dr. Wilmans. The sub-committee consequently approached the local magistrate on 14 August 1857 in an effort to co-ordinate the release of such persons with their transfer to the Colony. In their view this would prevent individuals from becoming an unnecessary burden on the Relief House or on the community at large.¹⁰¹⁾

The lack of funds and rising costs eventually forced the committee to approach Col. Maclean on 22 August 1857 for Government support. This rather undiplomatic letter created the impression that the Kaffrarian Government had failed in their duty to relieve the distress and that it had left most of these duties to private benevolence. The Chief Commissioner reacted strongly to these statements. He mentioned that apart from purchasing large quantities of corn, an extensive area had been cultivated in the Royal Reserve by the Government as precautionary measures. The Xhosa were also rationed in King William's Town and elsewhere before being sent to the Colony, while all the magistrates in British Kaffraria continued to issue food gratuitously in deserving cases; it was infinitely better that Government assistance should be administered by these magistrates in their own districts "... than that King William's Town should be made the point of attraction to, and the receptacle of all who desire relief" He concluded by saying that he was unable to recommend that the committee should be assisted with money or supplies at the public expense.¹⁰²⁾

The Chief Commissioner simultaneously informed the High Commissioner of the Relief Committee's letter and of his reply. Maclean mentioned that among Tzatzoe's followers alone 128 persons had received Government relief. This had been done despite the fact that the Ama Ntinde tribe was one of the tribes less influenced by the cattle-killing mania. He was convinced that the vicinity of King William's Town would become more of a centre of attraction, as the committee's funds increased. As it was, most of the destitutes near the town were from Kreli's country.¹⁰³⁾ The relations between the authorities

100) K. Gazette, 8.8.1857, 15.8.1857.

101) Resident Magistrate (Letters 1857-1860) : Douglas - Taylor, 14.8.1857.

102) BK 406: Maclean - Douglas, 24.8.1857, pp.207-208.

103) GH 8/50 : Maclean - Grey, 24.8.1857.

and the committee were further strained by the unauthorised publication of correspondence by the latter.¹⁰⁴⁾

The extent of the upheaval was only fully realised locally when it was reported in the Gazette on 29 August 1857 that, according to official returns, nearly 20 000 Blacks had gone to the Cape Colony since the beginning of 1857. The official hospital figures also showed that the number of dispensary and hospital cases for July and August had risen to 982.¹⁰⁵⁾ Deaths still occurred regularly at the hospital and at the Relief House. This was largely ascribed to the extreme destitution into which many Xhosa allowed themselves to fall before applying for assistance.¹⁰⁶⁾

In a letter of 30 August 1857, the Superintendent of Native Hospitals raised similar criticisms to those voiced earlier by the Kaffir Relief Committee about destitution in King William's Town and vicinity. The Chief Commissioner forwarded this letter to Sir George Grey, commenting that it was obvious that it had been written by Fitz Gerald at the instigation of the committee. Grey subsequently expressed his dissatisfaction with the doctor's behaviour as a paid Government servant for acting without any authority under the committee's orders.¹⁰⁷⁾

Another matter about which Dr. Fitz Gerald felt strongly, was the necessity of giving delicate food to the weak. He stated that to give solid food to many of these destitutes, was to offer them death in another shape. On his recommendation Col. Maclean ordered the Resident Magistrate of King William's Town to supply nutritious foods for deserving cases, instead of the usual rations of meat, bread and corn. Taylor was further requested to call upon Fitz Gerald or one of his assistants to attend to anybody who required medical treatment or to establish whether a person was fit to eat the ordinary rations or not.

The Chief Commissioner also instructed the local magistrate to erect sufficient huts to accommodate those who were severely destitute. More and better shelter was further needed for those who were willing to work in the Colony but who were not yet fit enough to travel further. Maclean felt that the huts would provide the necessary temporary shelter.¹⁰⁸⁾ It would also be a great

104) K. Gazette , 12.9.1857.

105) BK 378 : Schedule 499, Maclean - Grey, 28.9.1857, including letter by Fitz Gerald dated 15 September 1857.

106) K. Gazette, 29.8.1857.

107) BK 378 : Schedule 488, Maclean - Grey, 3.9.1857.

108) BK 406 : Maclean - Taylor, 12.9.1857, p.236.

improvement to the tents that were still provided. This form of accommodation was unsatisfactory for treating the weak, especially in bad weather.

The Chief Commissioner intended that those Xhosa who were still fit enough, should build these huts themselves under the superintendence of a constable. Taylor, however, approached the Civil Engineer on 17 September 1857 to do the work. This unauthorised action led to a reproach from Maclean who then instructed the Magistrate to execute his original instructions. If absolutely necessary, he could apply to the Engineer for a Xhosa working party.¹⁰⁹⁾ Captain Fielding, Acting Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe, also had huts erected with the assistance of many of the destitutes who had received relief through him. Fielding felt that the effect of having these people under his immediate care and preventing food issued to them being shared with idle relatives or neighbours, had been very beneficial. The Chief Commissioner subsequently recommended this system to Fielding's colleagues.¹¹⁰⁾

Notwithstanding all these measures and the zeal of those assisting at the hospital, the soup kitchens and elsewhere, the death toll in the meantime rose sharply in King William's Town and vicinity. Dr. Fitz Gerald's report for 3 August 1857, for example, stated:

"I found six dead bodies about two miles from town on the Peelton road yesterday. I found one on the bank of the river, two more were picked up by the police beyond Mr. Brownlee's and within the last ten days there have been fifteen deaths from starvation in the town itself. Not a day passes that bodies are not picked up in an emaciated and dying state." ¹¹¹⁾

At the beginning of September 1857 a dozen deaths occurred in the town within a week.¹¹²⁾ On 15 September Fitz Gerald gave another gloomy account:

"The dead bodies I have seen lying on the hillsides; the scenes of misery and distress which I have witnessed; the cases I have been called upon to attend; the dysenteric and putrid atmosphere we have lived and worked in and breathed for the last few months; the truck-loads of dead bodies almost daily being wheeled away to the burial ground cannot easily be effaced from my memory." ¹¹³⁾

109) BK 406 : Maclean - Taylor, 24.9.1857; Maclean - Civil Engineer, 24.9.1857, p.254.

110) BK 114 : Circular, Maclean to Special Magistrates, 1.10.1857.

111) Cory : Rise of South Africa, VI, pp. 38-39.

112) K. Gazette, 12.9.1857.

113) Burton : Sparks from the Border Anvil, p.73.

The men of the 45th Regiment who were engaged in the construction of the new Native Hospital experienced similar conditions. They had to avoid the street passing the temporary hospital in the Pensioners' Village because of ".... the horrible and intolerable effluvia emanating from wasting bodies suffering from extreme starvation". ¹¹⁴⁾

Until 15 September 1857 the total number of deaths at the hospital as a result of the cattle-killing delusion was 99, including 33 children. ¹¹⁵⁾ Many more unregistered cases of death before hospitalisation occurred in and around the Kaffrarian capital. The deceased at the hospital were initially buried in coffins, but many of the increasing number of corpses could eventually only be wrapped in blankets. ¹¹⁶⁾

The Superintendent of Native Hospitals confined his activities to King William's Town as far as alleviating the suffering was concerned. He stated on 15 September 1857 that he did not consider the cases of starvation outside the town within his responsibilities. Sir George Grey saw this as a serious error of judgement. He added in a long comment to Maclean that he would have been very sympathetic, as in the past, to receive any representations from Fitz Gerald for further assistance. ¹¹⁷⁾

Maclean subsequently reprimanded the Resident Magistrate because neither he nor Fitz Gerald had reported to him the scenes of distress in and around King William's Town as presented in the reports and communications of the Kaffir Relief Committee. The Chief Commissioner pointed out that if such cases had been reported, ample opportunity would have been given to Taylor for alleviating the suffering. Maclean at the same time explained why he did not originally send a circular to the local magistrate similar to those which the other magistrates had received and in which they had been given wide powers to administer relief. He maintained that this was to prevent the evils which would arise from the town being made a centre of attraction to

114) K. Gazette, 21.8.1860 (In obituary of Ned Macomo, one of Fitz Gerald's Xhosa assistants).

115) BK 378: Schedule 499, Maclean - Grey, 28.9.1857, including Fitz Gerald's letter dated 15 September 1857.

116) See also Chapter V.

117) BK 378 : Schedule 499, Maclean - Grey, 28.9.1857, including Fitz Gerald's letter and Grey's undated comments.

destitutes and because nobody in the town had any means of establishing which of the recipients deserved relief. ¹¹⁸⁾

Taylor received a further reproach a few days later for disclosing to the Relief Committee information contained in official letters. ¹¹⁹⁾ Yet another rebuke was levelled at the Resident Magistrate on 24 September 1857 after four unreported deaths had occurred in King William's Town since 15 September. The Chief Commissioner felt that there was no reason why any starvation should occur in the town itself where it was not necessary for the hungry to feed on roots or the bark of trees. ¹²⁰⁾

Another special local amenity connected with the cattle-killing crisis, was the establishment by the middle of September 1857 of a depot for those Xhosa who were still healthy enough and only required a rest on their way to the Colony. All such persons were accommodated in tents and usually continued their journey in organised groups after the magistrate had issued them with passes. On 16 September one of these parties, consisting of 123 persons, halted at two or three miles' distance from the town on their way to Graham's Town. They refused to go further, stating that they had been advised to do so because they would again be given sufficient food in King William's Town. After the party's return to town, they were given the option of transportation or of continuing their journey. All of them chose the latter. ¹²¹⁾

In the meantime the inhabitants of Cape Town had raised £500 for relief work. The High Commissioner instructed the Chief Commissioner on 19 September 1857 to spend the money on food and other comforts for the hungry in King William's Town or any other locality in British Kaffraria. Maclean in turn informed Fitz Gerald and the Special Magistrates on 1 October that this money was available for providing nutritious food and comforts. ¹²²⁾

In a letter of 19 September 1857 Sir George Grey also stressed that public expenditure and other efforts should still continue. He instructed Maclean:

118) Resident Magistrate (Miscellaneous Letters, 1857) : Maclean - Taylor, 16.9.1857.

119) BK 406 : Maclean - Taylor, 21.9.1857, p.250.

120) BK 406: Maclean - Taylor, 24.9.1857, p.254.

121) K. Gazette, 19.9.1857.

122) BK 406: Maclean - Fitz Gerald, 1.10.1857, p.268; BK 114 : Circular, Maclean to Special Magistrates, 1.10.1857.

"(to use) ... any vacant cottages in the Pensioners' village to this purpose, taking over the cottages which he placed at the disposal of the Kaffir Relief Committee, and placing them under the care of the Supt. of Hospitals and his assistants ... He should not interfere with the action of the Kafir Relief Committee in King William's Town, or allow their Secretary to interfere with his proceedings ... " 123)

The strained relations between the authorities and the committee then reached breaking-point. One of the main reasons was the committee's continuing vendetta in the press. A letter which was critical of the authorities, appeared in the Graham's Town Journal on 19 September 1857 under the pseudonym "ABC" and Maclean immediately ascribed it to Douglas, the Relief Committee's honorary secretary. He reported the matter to Grey, denying the allegations that the parties sent from King William's Town to the Colony had not received rations or that the Colonial Magistrates had been given no instructions to feed the destitute. 124)

Maclean felt too that the committee's stories of starvation in and about King William's Town had been highly coloured. The Chief Commissioner did not deny that there had been cases of distress and even death, but at the same time questioned whether any human agency could have prevented it. He felt that if the allegations were true, the Magistrate and the Superintendent of Hospitals would have made special reports; both these men were members of the Relief Committee, which had been used to great advantage. 125) Furthermore, the committee had estranged the Kaffrarian Government by directly approaching Sir George Grey on the matter.

The High Commissioner reacted in a lengthy memorandum, defending the Government's action on one hand, while attacking the Kaffir Relief Committee's false facts in their correspondence, as well as in their assertions to the Anglican Bishops of Cape Town and Grahamstown. Although the committee had

123) GH 30/4 ; Memorandum, Grey - Maclean, 19.9.1857.

124) GH 20/2/1 ; Maclean - Grey, 24.9.1857.

125) GH 8/50 ; Maclean - Grey, 21.9.1857.

claimed that the reduced numbers of destitute Xhosa around King William's Town were due to their own exertions, Grey attributed it to Government measures such as the sending of thousands of labourers to the Cape Colony; he could not believe that the medical staff and the local magistrate were powerless to alleviate the suffering. At the committee's public meetings, misrepresentations of the exact position were also made. In conclusion Grey said that he had no time to give the issue further attention; that it should rest there. If the Chief Commissioner so wished, he could use the contents of the memorandum at his own discretion in his subsequent dealings with the Relief Committee. ¹²⁶⁾

In these circumstances it was not surprising that the Relief Committee was considering its dissolution. The matter was first raised in a letter by the Resident Magistrate dated 19 September 1857. From this letter it appeared that Taylor had been approached about the possibility of taking over those destitute Xhosas under the control of the committee. Col. Maclean's immediate reaction was that the only effect of such a step would be that more cases of ordinary distress would then come under the care of the local magistrate. Dr. Fitz Gerald and his assistants would continue to treat all serious cases which required medical attention. The cottages in the Pensioners' Village which had been temporarily lent to the Committee, could in such a case also be placed at the Superintendent's disposal. The Chief Commissioner was, however, not prepared to take any final decisions on Taylor's recommendations. ¹²⁷⁾

The next noteworthy turn was the resignation of Douglas as honorary secretary of the Kaffir Relief Committee. This followed Grey's return to Maclean of a letter written by Douglas. This letter should have been channelled in the first place through the Chief Commissioner. Grey felt that this breach of official procedure was done on purpose and he intended to complain about Douglas to the Home Government — also about his misrepresentations in the press. Taylor, the vice-president, and two other members resigned simultaneously. ¹²⁸⁾

126) GH 20/2/1: Grey - Maclean, 21.9.1857.

127) BK 406 : Maclean - Taylor, 21.9.1857, p.250.

128) BK 406 : Maclean - Douglas, 26.9.1857, p.261.

A special public meeting of the Relief Committee was held on 29 September 1857 under the chairmanship of J.H. Parker. Apart from the remaining committee members, consisting of about ten people, there were only a few members of the public present. An interesting report was read on this occasion, from which it appeared that the Relief House was first opened on 28 July and that 302 cases had been admitted. Of these cases a total of 116 had been discharged and handed to the Resident Magistrate, while 52 persons had died there. A further 40 cases had absconded, leaving 90 people still using the soup kitchen. Altogether 38 persons of the remaining number were from Tzatzoe's tribe.¹²⁹⁾ Unfortunately no statistics exist for the soup kitchens or for the depot established by the committee. The meeting eventually resolved to close the relief operations of the committee within fourteen days from that date and to request the local magistrate to take all the remaining cases under his care.¹³⁰⁾

Maclean then issued instructions to Fitz Gerald and Taylor to do their utmost to relieve the suffering and to take over all the cases previously under the Relief Committee's care. These two officials consequently visited the Relief House on 5 October 1857. Fitz Gerald took over nine women and fourteen children, whom he immediately admitted to the hospital. Taylor took charge of a further three men, eleven women, seventeen children and six orphans. The doctor at that time already had twelve orphans under hospital care. He received orders from Maclean to keep them at the hospital until arrangements could be made for their permanent disposal. The arrangements between the Kaffrarian Government and the committee for taking over the latter's responsibilities were finalised by the middle of October.¹³¹⁾

In view of the smooth take-over the Chief Commissioner refrained from sending a copy of Grey's memorandum to the Relief Committee. Stair Douglas himself returned to England on 15 October, which left J.H. Parker as the only enthusiastic committee member. He was able to persuade two of the clergymen of King William's Town to remain on the Committee,¹³²⁾ although the Rev. Brownlee and the Rev. Watkins were not prepared to serve any longer. Watkins immediately

129) K. Gazette, 3.10.1857.

130) Resident Magistrate (Letters 1857 to 1860) : J.H. Parker - Maclean, 30.9.1859.

131) BK 378: Schedule 503, Maclean - Grey, 5.10.1857;

BK 100: Fitz Gerald - Maclean, 6.10.1857;

BK 406: Maclean - Fitz Gerald, 12.10.1857, p.287.

132) One of these clergymen was Rev. G. Chapman (Wesleyan Church). He later refused to assist the Government until the reflections cast on the committee had been retracted. (BK 378: Schedule 512, Maclean - Grey, 15.10.1857, enclosing a copy of Maclean's letter to three clergymen dated 8 October 1857).

offered his co-operation to the Kaffrarian Government in their continued activities to alleviate the suffering. ¹³³⁾

Virtually the last act of the Kaffir Relief Committee before its dissolution was the publication (once more) of one-sided correspondence in the local press. The Chief Commissioner responded with a strongly worded reply "... to deal them the last blow." For this he used the facts contained in Sir George Grey's earlier memorandum. ¹³⁴⁾ The subscribers to the local Relief Fund finally met on 27 October 1857 about the disposal of their surplus funds. The almost unanimous decision was to return the money to the subscribers who so wished it and to give the balance to the Kaffrarian authorities. An amount of £58-18-6 was later received by the Government. ¹³⁵⁾

The dissolution of the Kaffir Relief Committee meant the virtual end of the general public of King William's Town's involvement in alleviating suffering. The Committee undoubtedly made an important contribution to assist the destitutes although it was minimal when compared with that of the Kaffrarian Government:

" It (the committee) did great good work, but it was small compared with what was necessary to cope with the vast damage which had been done by the delusion or fraud. The total number of starving natives relieved up to February 28th, 1858, that is a year following the bursting of the Umhlakazain bubble, was 26,104 ..." ¹³⁶⁾

Although the main crisis arising from the cattle-killing delusion was more or less over in October 1857, reports of death and destitution nevertheless still frequently reached King William's Town. Considerable numbers of Xhosas also continued to come to the Kaffrarian capital for food, relief, employment or passes for registration as labourers in the Colony. ¹³⁷⁾ Charles Brownlee sent a party of thirty-two Blacks from Döhne on 6 October; such was their condition, however, that nine of them died en route. ¹³⁸⁾ This was partly due to sudden bad weather. Grey immediately instructed that the magistrates should be

133) GH 20/2/1 : Maclean - Grey, 15.10.1857.

134) GH 8/50 : Maclean - Grey, 29.10.1857.

135) BK 406 : Maclean - G. Blaine, 28.12.1857.

136) Cory : Rise of South Africa, VI, p.38.

137) On 12 October, for example, a party of nearly hundred Xhosa was sent from King William's Town to Grahamstown (K. Gazette, 17.10.1857).

138) K. Gazette, 10.10.1857.

cautioned not to send anybody to the Frontier capital who was unfit to travel.¹³⁹⁾ Another significant problem which remained unsolved by October, was the fact that all the rations for those registered in King William's Town were issued before their departure on their long journey to the Colony. The next issue of rations was often only made in Grahamstown by which time many of the Xhosas were once again extremely hungry.¹⁴⁰⁾

The Kaffrarian Government was assisted financially in their relief work by contributions received from all over the country. Apart from Cape Town, substantial aid came from Graaff Reinet, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Donations continued until late in 1858 — even from as far afield as South West Africa, from which quarter contributions of £10-10-0 and £7-12-0 were received respectively from Chiefs Jonker Afrikaner and Cornelis Oasib.¹⁴¹⁾

The overworked Maclean was faced with yet another problem in November 1857 when the Colonial Secretary informed him of the considerable number of deaths and the emaciated condition of many of the Xhosas on their arrival in the Colony after shipment from East London. This form of transport was increasingly used during 1857 for registered labourers.¹⁴²⁾ Most of these Blacks were sent by wagon from King William's Town to East London. The Chief Commissioner immediately ordered that nobody be shipped who appeared either unfit to undertake the voyage or incapable of working after transportation.¹⁴³⁾

At the end of 1857 the Frontier, and King William's Town in particular, were again peaceful and quiet. The general position of the Xhosa was described as utterly prostrate and powerless.¹⁴⁴⁾ During the year £29,584-5-2 was spent on public works and buildings alone, although the estimate for that purpose was only £19,850. Most of the additional expenses were due to efforts to reduce starvation. Among these expenses was an amount of £1,590-10-9 for providing corn for the destitute in and around King William's Town.¹⁴⁵⁾

139) BK 378 : Schedule 513, Maclean - Grey, 19.10.1857, with Grey's undated reply.

140) BK 130 : Several entries in accounts.

141) K. Gazette, 4.9.1858.

142) CQ 690 : M. Jennings (Resident Magistrate, East London) - Maclean, 7.11.1857.

143) CQ 690 : Maclean - Rawson (Colonial Secretary), 9.11.1857.

144) K. Gazette, 2.1.1858.

145) BK 379 : Schedule of Payments for 1857.

Fielding himself expended £158-3-9 on food in 1857 — about a quarter of the administrative cost of looking after Tzatzoe's tribe.¹⁴⁶⁾ By the end of that year British Kaffraria's population had been reduced to 37 697, compared to 104 721 only twelve months earlier. This decrease was due to the emigration of labourers and the large number of deaths that had occurred in that territory alone.¹⁴⁷⁾

Grey regarded the acquisition of fire-arms from destitutes at minimal prices as another step to disarm the Blacks, thereby rendering another war unlikely. More than £900 was eventually spent in 1857 and 1858 on this item in British Kaffraria.¹⁴⁸⁾ In the same period the Military Storekeeper in the Kaffrarian capital issued arms and ammunition for self-defence in deserving cases.¹⁴⁹⁾ Among these were the missionaries Appleyard and Kayser, as well as Major Gawler and some Fingo in the Royal Reserve.¹⁵⁰⁾ It was presumably felt unnecessary for Brownlee to defend his mission station because of the strong local garrison.

The Brownlee Mission did not escape the effects of the cattle-killing mania. At the beginning of 1858 John Brownlee stated that he had been greatly impressed during the previous year with the customary hospitality of the local Blacks towards their destitute friends. The people of the station carried a severe burden in alleviating the suffering of many who kept coming in for months in an emaciated condition.¹⁵¹⁾

By the beginning of 1858 many of the Xhosa children had been deserted or orphaned. Maclean therefore instructed the Special Magistrates to forward to the Resident Magistrate in King William's Town those children under their protection who would be fit and of age to be sent to Cape Town for service.¹⁵²⁾

146) BK 121 : Statement of Expenditure for Jan Tzatzoe's Tribe, 29.12.1857.

147) Du Toit : The Cape Frontier, p.101; Cory : Rise of South Africa, VI, p.39 (It was impossible to assess the number of deaths in Krel's territory, which was not under British jurisdiction and in which no census was taken).

148) BK 380 : Schedule 6, Maclean - Grey, 20.1.1859.

149) BK 379 : Schedule 145, Maclean - Grey, 18.11.1858.

150) Resident Magistrate (Letters, 1857 - 1860): H. Blackmore (Military Storekeeper) - Taylor, 18.12.1857.

151) B. Holt : Greatheart of the Border, p.132 (See also Chapter I).

152) BK 114 : Circular 1, Maclean - Special Magistrates, 9.1.1858.

The Chief Commissioner immediately requested Captain Grantham to put any available cottage in the Pensioners' Village at the Government's disposal for the temporary accommodation of these children.¹⁵³⁾ The first known group of deserted and orphaned children left the Kaffrarian capital on 23 January by ox-wagon. They were taken from East London by ship to the Western Cape. This party consisted of fifteen boys and seven girls.¹⁵⁴⁾ This system was continued even after 1858.¹⁵⁵⁾

The general position among Tzatzoe's followers was still far from satisfactory in January 1858. This was despite the fact that the Ama Ntinde tribe largely refrained from actively participating in Umhlakaza's plans. Maclean mentioned that the part of the tribe "... on the West of the Buffalo have cultivated sufficiently, but those on the other side will not have more than sufficient for six months supply."¹⁵⁶⁾ Since January 1857 the population of Tzatzoe's tribe had decreased from 2 381 to 2 074. Although this figure dropped to 1 173 at the end of 1858, the death toll among the Ama Ntinde probably remained fairly small because of their convenient position as regards medical services.¹⁵⁷⁾

As was the case during 1857, the gaol at King William's Town continued to be used early in 1858 to accommodate destitute Xhosa who were unfit for service. At the beginning of March there were twenty-four of these, the majority being children. The gaol was then found to be totally unsuitable for this purpose, with the result that these destitutes were placed under the care of a missionary at the Government's expense.¹⁵⁸⁾

153) BK 407 : Maclean - Taylor, 9.1.1858, p.8.

154) K. Gazette, 23.1.1858.

155) See Chapter III.

156) BK 373 : Letter 309 : Maclean - Secretary to High Commissioner, 18.1.1858, p.224.

157) BK 114 : Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 1857; BK 109: Population Returns, 31.12.1858 (The dramatic decrease in population during 1858 was as a result of the large number of tribesmen who left for Colonial service).

158) BK 407 : Maclean - Taylor, 6.3.1858, p.78.

In the meantime Nonkosi, the so-called Pongo prophetess, had been found alone and destitute in Umhala's territory. During questioning by Major Gawler, she mentioned a stranger who had originally appeared to her, telling her that the British would all be driven to King William's Town and destroyed there. Nonkosi had later stated that the stranger was Kwitchi, her uncle.¹⁵⁹⁾

The young prophetess was subsequently sent to the Chief Commissioner who decided to put her under Dr. Fitz Gerald's care "... as she is reported to be of weak intellect."¹⁶⁰⁾ Maclean felt that if it could be established that Nonkosi was sane, she ought to be sent to Cape Town to deter others, thereby also diminishing her influence among the Xhosa.¹⁶¹⁾ If necessary, she had to be lodged in the King William's Town gaol until the High Commissioner had taken a final decision.

Nonkosi was later interrogated at Fort Murray by Colonel Maclean himself. This was on 23 October 1857. According to her evidence Kwitchi was without doubt one of the main instigators in British Kaffraria during the height of the cattle-killing episode. It was therefore decided to apprehend him as well. Kwitchi was about the first of the leading figures associated with this episode to be gaoled in King William's Town. In due course a notable number of influential chiefs were among those to be gaoled and sentenced in the town before their transportation to Cape Town. Although the Xhosa National Suicide was used as an excuse to apprehend these chiefs, Sir George Grey's real object was to weaken the traditional powers of the Xhosa chiefs.¹⁶²⁾

Kwitchi himself was thoroughly examined from 12 to 14 November 1857.¹⁶³⁾ Maclean, however, felt that further trials were advisable for both him and Nonkosi. These trials were scheduled for January 1858 and it was arranged

159) Dowsley : The Cattle-Killing Delusion, pp.95 - 97.

160) BK 406 : Maclean - Fitz Gerald, 10.10.1857, p.286.

161) BK 378 : Schedule 510, Maclean - Grey, 12.10.1857.

162) See also Chapter IV.

163) Cape of Good Hope : Reports on Native Affairs, 1849-1862. Report 12 : Papers Indicating the Nature of the Plans formed by the Kafir Chiefs which led to the late Destruction of Cattle and Property pp. 3-5.

that Nonkosi be returned in the meantime to the care of Major Gawler. ¹⁶⁴⁾
 Kwitchi remained in the gaol, where he tried to escape twice. ¹⁶⁵⁾

After again appearing before the Chief Commissioner at Fort Murray early in January 1858, Nonkosi was interrogated for a third time — on this occasion by Henry Barrington, chairman of the Board of Magistrates and legal adviser to Maclean. This was in the presence of Major Gawler and Mr. Fynn, the interpreter. This time King William's Town was the venue and the date about 14 January. Nonkosi then described the dubious rôle played by Umhala and Kwitchi in detail. On the same day Kwitchi was also questioned. After Kwitchi had expressed the fear that he might be killed if the chiefs came to hear of his evidence, Barrington promised him full Government protection. The trial continued on 18 and 19 January. Although Kwitchi initially denied much of what Nonkosi had said there was no question that they were both responsible for stirring up excitement. Kwitchi maintained that Kreli had thought that the Xhosa would be better equipped to fight against the British without cattle of their own to hamper them. ¹⁶⁶⁾

Before Barrington's third examination of Kwitchi, he reported on 19 January 1858 to Maclean that Nonkosi's uncle on the previous two interviews " appeared to have made up his mind fairly to say all he knew in connection with the war plans of the Chiefs — that matter seems to have been fully confessed now." ¹⁶⁷⁾ In the session of 19 January, Kwitchi divulged sufficient information in Barrington's view to prove Chief Pato's complicity in stirring up excitement. ¹⁶⁸⁾ Kwitchi finally admitted that he had been the instigator behind Nonkosi's prophecies — with Umhala's active co-operation.

Nombanda, a friend of Nonquase and a prophetess in her own right, was the next to be apprehended and questioned. Her examination by the Chief Commissioner took place on 28 February 1858. Nombanda mentioned on that occasion that

164) BK 378 : Schedule 526, Maclean - Grey, 19.11.1857.

165) K. Gazette, 16.1.1858.

166) BK 14 : Reports on Evidence by Nonkosi and Kwitchi dated 14 January 1858, as well as subsequent reports.

167) GH 8/50 : Barrington - Maclean, 19.1.1858.

168) GH 8/50 : Barrington - Maclean, 19.1.1858; Maclean - Grey, 21.1.1858.

Umhlakaza had died about two months earlier — himself a victim of the starvation that he had brought upon the Xhosa nation. This prophetess added that Nonquase was still in the vicinity of the Bashee River.¹⁶⁹⁾ The latter was subsequently caught in Bomvanaland by W.R.D. Fynn.¹⁷⁰⁾

When examining Nonquase at Fort Murray on 9 April 1858, Maclean found her to be an intelligent girl of about fifteen or sixteen.¹⁷¹⁾ During this interrogation Nonquase stated that she had acted under the influence and direction of her uncle Umhlakaza in delivering her messages. She was further questioned on 22 April.

Satisfied that Nonquase and Nonkosi had acted merely as mediums, the authorities decided to send them to Robben Island for punishment, but partly also to protect them from retaliation by those who had lost their cattle and corn.¹⁷²⁾ Their departure for Cape Town, however, was postponed unaccountably until October 1858. It is likely that the two girls were lodged in the King William's Town gaol in the interim. All that is known about them during this period is that Nonquase was among the notable personalities photographed by Michael Durney, a well-known photographer in the Eastern Cape at the time. This was in July and for this occasion the young Xhosa woman was dressed in a tanned hide, ornamented with bell buttons.¹⁷³⁾ Nonquase and Nonkosi were eventually accompanied by Maj. Gawler to East London on their way to the Cape. Umhala and his councillor Kenti were travelling in the same party. This was shortly after they had been sentenced to transportation.¹⁷⁴⁾ The departure of the prophetesses on 15 October in the schooner Alice Smith¹⁷⁵⁾ was almost symbolical of the end of the cattle-killing mania.¹⁷⁶⁾

However, some after-effects of this episode were still experienced in King

169) BK 14 : Questioning of Nombanda at Fort Murray, 28.2.1858.

170) Dictionary of S.A. Biography, I, p.594.

171) Dowsley : The Cattle-Killing Delusion, p.107.

172) Dictionary of S.A. Biography, I, p.594.

173) Bull and Denfield : Secure the Shadow, p.192; K. Gazette, 31.7.1858 (Durney was at that stage still an itinerant photographer but he eventually became the best known of King William's Town's photographers).

174) BK 379 : Schedule 129, Maclean - Grey, 16.10.1858.

175) BK 78 : M. Jennings (Resident Magistrate, East London): List of Natives who were embarked on board the "Alice Smith" in charge of Major Gawler..., 19.10.1858.

176) When the hatred had died down, the two prophetesses were allowed to return to the Eastern Cape. Nonquase went to live near Alexandria and died in 1898 at Shepstone. Nothing further is known about Nonkosi after her return. It is also unknown what happened to Kwitchi.

William's Town. In about September 1858, for example, a temporary revival of the mania was attempted by Telletelle. He was a Fingo imposter who started prophesying in Dodana's location near Fort White. It was soon proved that Telletelle had acted in concert with Kreli and he was consequently apprehended. His short-lived career as a prophet ended in gaol at King William's Town. ¹⁷⁷⁾

Xhosa parties on their way to the Colony were also occasionally seen passing through the Kaffrarian capital. These groups gradually became smaller although a party of nearly 100 persons reached the town on 13 November 1858, where they remained for the night. They all looked hungry and most of the women were heavily laden with kitchen utensils and other household items. ¹⁷⁸⁾

The system by which destitute Xhosa from British Kaffraria and Kaffraria Proper were sent to the Cape Colony as labourers, was discontinued only in August 1859. ¹⁷⁹⁾

During the Xhosa National Suicide and its aftermath King William's Town therefore played a major rôle — one which has not yet been fully realised. Its central geographical position in British Kaffraria, its convenient proximity to Kaffraria Proper and its road links in all directions made it the obvious centre in which a starving nation could seek relief. The Frontier capital was, furthermore, the only notable commercial centre where there was a significant demand for labour. As an alternative the Xhosas could register there for work in the Cape Colony. Despite the Government's views, the local Kaffir Relief Committee fulfilled an important function in alleviating the suffering in and around the town. Finally, King William's Town's importance as the administrative, medical and military headquarters of British Kaffraria made it a focal point during an event that gave a new turn to the history of the eastern territories.

177) BK 2 : Maclean - Grey, 2.10.1858.

178) K. Gazette, 20.11.1858.

179) GH 30/5 : F. Travers (Secretary to High Commissioner) - Maclean, 19.8.1859, p.122.

CHAPTER VII

THE OPERATION OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM

a. Legal Complexity:

For British Kaffraria with its heterogenous population which, according to the local Gazette, represented "... the extremes of barbarism and civilization...", an effective judicial system was of paramount importance. ¹⁾ The protection of life and property, the prevention of crime, the maintenance of law and order and even the administration of the territory depended on effective legal machinery. King William's Town was the focal point of this judicial system in which the Xhosa were ruled by "... a medley of civil, military and Kaffir law". ²⁾ As will be seen, the customary Xhosa law was to be accepted to some extent until Grey's reforms and even then traditional law served as a basis for change. This applied particularly to tribal areas such as Jan Tzatzoe's location.

Sir George Cathcart had stressed the importance of military rule and naturally based its legal system on the principles of martial law. In his time the European civilian population was negligible and the presence of several regiments of British soldiers provided a setting for martial law. This legal "system" was effective too for ruling the Xhosa. Although the emphasis changed in Grey's time to English civil law, martial law was often still the practice. ³⁾ Many of the High Commissioner's new measures, such as the introduction of a Criminal Court, were based on civil law.

Grey regarded a legal system as one of the cornerstones of his administration of British Kaffraria. This necessitated, in his view, several revolutionary changes. He showed typical determination in introducing such reforms against strong opposition from Tzatzoe and other Xhosa chiefs. The High Commissioner also recognised King William's Town's legal importance. The laws were made in the capital, all the noteworthy legal institutions for the territory operated from it and most of the prisoners were lodged in gaol there.

1) K. Gazette, 7.11.1857 (Leader).

2) K. Gazette, 3.10.1857.

3) BK 14; H. Barrington - Maclean, 24.4.1857.

b. Customary Xhosa Law and Grey's Reforms:

As Cathcart emphasized military control in British Kaffraria and believed in the temporary duration of this separate dependency, he favoured a system of indirect rule. He therefore accepted customary Xhosa law.

Soon after Sir George Grey's arrival he gave an apt and accurate summary of this traditional legal system:

"The system under which Kafir Law is administered amongst the Natives of British Kaffraria appears to be, that complaints are brought before the Chief of each Tribe by any person of his Tribe, who deems himself aggrieved— Such complaint...is heard by the Chief and some of his Councillors, who impose a fine on the party to whom they attribute guilt, generally, so many head of cattle, the fine is levied by messengers from the Chief's Kraal..."⁴⁾

Grey expanded on this subject in a despatch a few months later:

"All persons who are members of the tribe are regarded as the absolute property of the chief. Hence in all cases of murder, or acts of violence committed on the person, the whole fine imposed and levied is taken in the first instance by the chief..."

"The alleged offence of witchcraft (a public crime) subjects a person found guilty of it to torture and death, and the total confiscation of his property. No sooner, therefore, does a person grow rich, than he is almost certain to be accused of this offence, and is, at least, stripped of all he possesses."⁵⁾

In common with other Xhosa chiefs, Tzatzoe applied this customary law until Grey's arrival. The new High Commissioner had totally different views on the matter. He sought the first opportunity to introduce European magistrates for the various tribes to replace the existing "...barbarous mode of administering justice.." This measure would at the same time break the widespread powers and influence of the chiefs.

Grey's opportunity came in 1855 with the lung-sickness among cattle. This disease greatly reduced the number of cattle among the Xhosa tribes and with it disappeared the main form of compensation for the chiefs. The High Commissioner wanted to divide

4) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 26.7.1855, p. 125.

5) Colonial Blue Book: Correspondence between Grey and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1855 - 1857: Grey - W. Molesworth, 18.12.1855, p. 87.

British Kaffraria into eight divisions and eleven districts and intended to place a special magistrate as far as possible in charge of each division. Grey also proposed to Maclean that a number of counsellors be appointed for each tribe. The chiefs and counsellors would receive fixed salaries and all legal cases brought before a chief would subsequently be attended by a magistrate as an assessor. At the same time Grey gave detailed instructions for the implementation of his revolutionary proposals among the tribes. In Tzatzoe's case he recommended that the Ama Ntinde tribe, which occupied one of the eleven districts, be placed under the jurisdiction of the King William's Town magistrate for the time being. Grey suggested that Tzatzoe be assisted by two counsellors and receive a salary of £30 a year.⁶⁾ The announcement of the scheme caused great excitement in the Kaffrarian capital.⁷⁾

In most cases the Xhosa chiefs were reluctant to accept Grey's proposals which they saw as an intrusion into their tribal authority.⁸⁾ This led to several meetings where senior officials stressed the advantages of the new magisterial system. One of the most important of these meetings was held at Fort Murray on 26 October 1855. Chief Tzatzoe was among the estimated crowd of 3 000 people who was addressed by Maclean. Tzatzoe discussed the whole matter a few days later with the Chief Commissioner. He was probably more polite than sincere when he stated:

"I thank Maclean for acquainting me with the news from the Governor; it is good news, and I accept the Governor's proposals. Such chiefs and counsellors, as well as people, who agree to it, will greatly benefit by it, and all the chiefs will do well in accepting so just a system of government among the Kaffirs"⁹⁾

The scheme probably came into operation among the Ama Ntinde tribe early in 1856, with the Resident Magistrate being responsible for the initial stages of implementation. In August Grey announced the extension of the magisterial system by the appointment of headmen over each group of kraals. The headmen would be assisted by unarmed policemen. Grey recommended that there should be 1 000 headmen and assistants, classified in 100 so-called first class, and 200 second class headmen, with 700 third class assistants. Payments would be monthly and had to be collected at first in the Kaffrarian capital by the magistrates.¹⁰⁾ Grey outlined their duties simultaneously:

"These men would be responsible for the good order of their kraals,

6) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 26.7.1855, pp. 125-127, 130 (The magistrates also had to make regular tours of inspection, apart from furnishing the Chief Commissioner with monthly returns and regular reports).

7) G. Journal, 18.8.1855.

8) To the tribes the magistrates often seemed to be omnipresent government spies.

9) 1856, XXXIX (223 - VIII). S.A., papers re care of natives, 1855 - 6: Meeting with Ndlambe Chiefs, 26.10.1855, p. 33.

10) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 28.8.1856, pp. 195 - 196; J. Bergh: Charles Brownlee, p. 405, 436; De Villiers: Administrasie van Brits-Kaffraria, p. 33.

for the detection of robberies, for the restoration of stolen property, the apprehension of thieves, for carrying and transmitting messages sent to them, and generally for the performance of all such orders relating to the maintenance of peace and good order." ¹¹⁾

In September 1856 he elaborated on his proposals. He recommended that parties of headmen and their assistants be located in kraals along all the major roads at intervals of not more than three miles. A large hut had to be built for each headman. Grey proposed that his ideas should first be implemented on the road between King William's Town and East London. One of the police posts would be in town and another at Gillam's Drift on its outskirts. ¹²⁾

Evidently the extension of the new system of justice had made it necessary to consider the part-time appointment of a special magistrate for the Ama Ntinde tribe, to relieve the King William's Town's Magistrate of some of his duties. The Chief Commissioner approached the High Commissioner for the appointment of Captain R. Fielding to this post. According to Maclean this officer was fairly fluent in Xhosa which would make the services of an interpreter unnecessary and Tzatzoe had also declared himself in favour of Fielding. Grey had already earlier favoured the appointment of reliable military officers as special magistrates and approved Maclean's recommendations. ¹³⁾ Fielding was still Superintendent of Kaffir Police and in view of these additional duties his salary was increased to £250. ¹⁴⁾ He was apparently appointed from 1 October. ¹⁵⁾ Fielding subsequently paid out the salaries of Tzatzoe and other officials of the Ama Ntinde tribe. ¹⁶⁾

From the outset the magisterial system under Capt. Fielding functioned very well. One of his first tasks was to assist Tzatzoe and his impoverished followers as far as possible during the cattle-killing crisis. By the end of 1857 an amount of £158 - 3 - 19 had been expended on food for destitutes of the Ama Ntinde tribe. The total expenditure which was incurred on behalf of the tribe for that year amounted to £650 - 7 - 8. Only a small part of this sum was recoverable from fees and fines

11) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 28.8.1856, pp. 195 - 196.

12) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 25.9.1856, pp. 200 - 201.

13) Grey was in King William's Town at the time in connection with the cattle-killing crisis.

14) BK 377: Letter 273, Maclean - Grey, 19.9.1856, with Grey's undated reply.

15) BK 129: Monthly Statement of Expenditure, October 1856.

16) BK 406: Maclean - R. Routh (Treasurer), 28.8.1856, p. 16.

for public offences. The administrative establishment then consisted of Tzatzoe, Fielding, two counsellors, four first class headmen, nine second class headmen and twenty three third class headmen, giving a total of forty persons. Tzatzoe was then receiving an annual salary of £36 and the Special Magistrate £38-2-1 for this part of his duties.¹⁷⁾

The regulations issued by Grey in February 1858 in connection with the establishment of villages provided a further opportunity for putting his own ideas into practice. Apart from providing for the control of these villages through a system of headmen, every hut was to be subject to an annual tax of ten shillings. Taxes on all horses, horned cattle, sheep and goats were to be levied too. The regulations also stipulated that all arms had to be registered and that nobody would be allowed to carry an assegai or a gun except with special permission.¹⁸⁾ As in other cases, the headmen of the Ama Ntinde tribe were largely responsible for collecting the taxes. There were not many horses among Tzatzoe's followers and with the taxation of cattle and sheep being withdrawn later, the hut tax remained the chief source of income.¹⁹⁾ Even in this case the revenue was low and in 1860, for example, only £19 - 15 - 0 was collected among Tzatzoe's tribe.²⁰⁾

Another potential source of income was the system of licences. Grey discussed the principle of establishing licensed trading stations at the seats of the Special Magistrates with several businessmen in King William's Town during his extensive visit to the Frontier in September and October 1856. A report in the local Gazette stated that there was great enthusiasm in the town for the implementation of this proposal.²¹⁾ Two months later Fielding issued a general trader's licence for "Jan Tzatzoes Kraal" and two canteen licences.²²⁾ This brought the total revenue from licences to £52.²³⁾

Fielding was succeeded in June 1858 by George Brownlow as part-time Special Magistrate with the Ama Ntinde tribe.²⁴⁾ This was apart from Brownlow's employment as Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. In his case an interpreter was needed.

17) BK 121: Statement of Expenditure with Jan Tzatzoes tribe Department for year ending 31 December 1857, 29.12.1857.

18) BK 393: Maclean - Taylor, 13.5.1858.

19) The horse tax collected in 1860 amounted to £1 - 5 - 0 (BK 109: Population Return of British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860).

20) BK 109: Population Return for British Kaffraria, 31.12.1861.

21) K. Gazette, 2.10.1856.

22) BK 220: Statement of licences issued, 1.12.1858.

23) BK 121: Statement of Revenue with Jan Tzatzoes tribe Department, 29.12.1857.

24) BK 226: Maclean - Brownlow, 19.6.1858 (Brownlow's appointment followed soon after Fielding's resignation as Superintendent of Kaffir Police on the disbandment of this force).

Shortly after his appointment Brownlow had to assist in accommodating Chief Botman and his remaining followers within Tzatzoe's location. This was in the wake of the cattle-killing crisis which had reduced the population of the Mdange tribe to 314 members by December 1857.²⁵⁾ Maclean subsequently instructed Brownlow to include Botman and a number of his headmen on his Department's payroll.²⁶⁾ With the addition of Botman and his followers, the Special Magistrate's staff consisted of the two chiefs, three counsellors, an interpreter, seven first class headmen, four second class headmen and thirty third class assistants.²⁷⁾ The payroll varied from time to time.²⁸⁾

The daily administration of Tzatzoe's tribe continued satisfactorily and without any problems until Sir George Grey's final departure in August 1861. Brownlow was eventually succeeded in September 1861 by Thomas Giddy. The office of Special Magistrate for Toise's tribe was then combined with that of the Ama Ntinde tribe. The affairs of Toise's tribe had been administered previously from King William's Town with J. Ayliff acting as Special Magistrate.²⁹⁾

Despite the apparent success of the magisterial reforms as applied to Tzatzoe's tribe, the uneasiness among the Xhosa chiefs over these revolutionary measures continued for a long time. The High Commissioner's magisterial scheme was probably at least partly responsible for a major catastrophe such as the cattle-killing delusion.³⁰⁾ Sir George Grey himself acknowledged this possibility when he stated in Parliament in April 1857 that the unrest among the Xhosa had started only months after the introduction of his system of magistrates.³¹⁾ However, the new magisterial system of Grey laid the foundations for the future administration of the Ama Ntinde tribe and the other Xhosa tribes on both sides of the Kei River.

c. The Resident Magistrate:

The Xhosa population of King William's Town fell directly under the legal jurisdiction of the local Resident Magistrate. Richard Taylor was the first official

25) BK 114: Population Return, British Kaffraria, 1.1.1858.

26) BK 228: Maclean - Brownlow, 14.8.1858.

27) BK 260: Financial Statements, August 1860; BK 264: Financial Statements, November 1860.

28) In May 1861 the payroll consisted of the interpreter, the two chiefs, three counsellors, seven first class headmen, three second class and twenty-nine third class headmen. The total expenditure for that month was R42 - 12 - 8 (BK 275: Monthly statement of Expenditure, May 1861).

29) K. Gazette, 3.9.1861 (Government Notice 33 dated 3 September 1861).

30) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp. 99 - 100.

31) B. Le Cordeur: Godlonton, p. 136.

to be appointed to this position in 1852. Although his original commission applied theoretically to the capital's military radius of two miles, his responsibilities in practice covered a much wider area.³²⁾ Until the appointment of a special magistrate for the Ama Ntinde tribe, the Resident Magistrate's legal jurisdiction included Tzatzoe's territory. Most of Taylor's time was devoted to the growing Black and European population of King William's Town.

The local magistrate had a heavy responsibility in civil and criminal cases. In minor civil cases involving Ama Ntinde tribesmen in their own location, the Chief and his headmen arbitrated at first. Tzatzoe's powers in this respect were later superseded by his Special Magistrate. Taylor had to deal with civil cases of a more serious nature for the outlying areas and with all civil cases of King William's Town's Xhosa and European populations. These cases often concerned Blacks who were apprehended outside the magisterial district and brought to the prison.

The Resident Magistrate had wide powers in criminal matters too and it was initially only murder cases which were referred to the Colonial Circuit Court. Many of his duties in criminal affairs were taken over late in 1857 by the Criminal Court and eventually by the Supreme Court in 1861.

Among Taylor's main other functions were the issuing of passes, control over the central registering office for labourers in the Kaffrarian capital and the administration of a large department, which included several clerks, the local civil police force, a public prosecutor and interpreters.³³⁾ During the cattle-killing catastrophe King William's Town's magistrate heard most of the court cases involving transportation and his office registered many thousands of workers for Colonial service. An institution like the civil prison fell under his jurisdiction too. From time to time the local magistrate made recommendations for the remission of sentences.

32) BK 379: Schedule 84, Maclean - Grey, 31.5.1858, enclosing a letter by Taylor dated 21 May 1858.

33) BK 109: Government Notice, 7.11.1857, p. 50.

d. Board of Magistrates and Criminal Court:

To relieve the Resident Magistrate of some of his legal duties, Grey decided in 1855 to establish a Board of Magistrates. The post of chairman of this Board was offered to Henry Barrington of the Knysna district, who would also act as legal adviser to Maclean.³⁴⁾ Barrington took up the position in King William's Town on 20 December.³⁵⁾ The Board assembled periodically in the capital and had civil and criminal jurisdiction over the whole of British Kaffraria. However, serious criminal cases still had to be sent to Alice for trial by the Colonial Circuit Court.³⁶⁾

To extend and legalize the powers of the Board, the High Commissioner considered the establishment of a Criminal Court to succeed it. Grey issued a proclamation to this effect in October 1857. The new Court was given wide powers of punishment for crimes, including the passing of death sentences.³⁷⁾ All Court sessions were held in King William's Town, with the Court consisting of Barrington as President, two magistrates, a public prosecutor (Thomas Giddy) and a registrar.³⁸⁾ William Kaye acted as Xhosa interpreter. Giddy often had to travel widely throughout British Kaffraria to investigate cases and obtain witnesses.³⁹⁾

The first session of the Criminal Court commenced on 15 December 1857. Only one of the eight cases involved a Black. He was Ruyters, a Gonaqua, who was sentenced to death for murdering a sawyer.⁴⁰⁾ During its existence the Court dealt with a considerable number of murders and several Xhosa were eventually hanged. In one instance three Blacks were sentenced to death for allegedly murdering the Rev. Joseph Willson. Because of insufficient evidence Grey later reprieved the three men. The other cases usually dealt with stock thefts, assaults, culpable homicides, torturing of alleged witches and one with infanticide. The latter case involved an Ama Ntinde woman who killed her illegitimate child born on the premises of the local Victoria Hotel. She was sentenced to death, but was pardoned a year later, provided that she stayed under supervision on the Brownlee Mission.

34) BK 1: Grey - Maclean, 17.9.1855.

35) BK 191: Grey - Maclean, 2.1.1856.

36) K. Gazette, 7.11.1857, 12.12.1857.

37) K. Gazette, 7.11.1857.

38) Steyn: Brits-Kaffraria, p. 59.

39) BK 101: T. Giddy - Traherne, 16.11.1857, p. 1; BK 227: Maclean - Giddy, 29.6.1858, etc (Giddy was assisted occasionally by two Xhosa constables from the capital).

40) Kaffrarian Museum: Criminal Records 1857 - 1861, pp. 1 - 18.

Tzatzoe's followers were often involved in these court cases.

The Criminal Court held altogether eight sessions between December 1857 and September 1861.⁴¹⁾ By then Barrington had already left King William's Town and Richard Taylor acted as President.⁴²⁾ The Criminal Court was superseded at the end of 1861 by a Supreme Court which provided for trials by jury under Judge J. Fitzpatrick. Barrington was succeeded as legal adviser to the Government by Simeon Jacobs, British Kaffraria's first Attorney-General. He arrived in King William's Town in June 1861.⁴³⁾

e. Offences:

During Sir George Grey's administration the crime rate for British Kaffraria with its large and heterogenous population was relatively low. Statistical returns show that offences among Europeans were on the average higher than those among the Xhosa.⁴⁴⁾ The majority of the prisoners in the King William's Town gaol were Xhosa, but this figure was not excessive when compared to their large population.⁴⁵⁾

The offences committed by the Xhosa covered a wide field. In April 1858, for example, there were 40 Blacks in King William's Town's prison who were confined for offences ranging from murder and being found in the Royal Reserve to the stirring of political unrest and for setting grass on fire.⁴⁶⁾ Altogether 26 Xhosa were held for thefts or for having stolen property in their possession.⁴⁷⁾

The local murder trials and especially the public hangings always attracted wide attention. A Gonaqua, Ruyters, was executed with two Europeans on 10 February 1858. A large crowd, with many Xhosa among them, was present and two sections of the 60th Regiment were drawn up on each side of the yellowwood gallows. All the prisoners witnessed this sordid affair too.⁴⁸⁾ The hangman was a soldier

41) Kaffrarian Museum: Criminal Records 1857 - 1861, pp. 1 - 187.

42) K. Gazette, 1.10.1861.

43) K. Gazette, 4.6.1861 (Local and Colonial).

44) K. Gazette, 15.1.1861 (Government Notice 3, 8.1.1861: Statistical Returns for King William's Town and East London gaols, 1860).

45) K. Gazette, 10.4.1858.

46) There were 13 Europeans in the gaol at that time.

47) K. Gazette, 10.4.1858.

48) Anglo - Germania, 10.2.1858 (Postscript); K. Gazette, 13.2.1858.

of the British German Legion who was disguised as a Xhosa.⁴⁹⁾ There were several subsequent hangings in the Kaffrarian capital, but this occasion was undoubtedly the most macabre. One Xhosa prisoner who was awaiting his execution, escaped the gallows when he died of smallpox in the Hospital.⁵⁰⁾

The Kaffrarian Government naturally viewed assaults, armed robberies and torture as serious crimes and harsh sentences were usually imposed. This was particularly the case during the unrest following the cattle-killing catastrophe. The Criminal Court dealt mostly with these crimes.⁵¹⁾ The illegal trading of arms and ammunition (particularly gunpowder) to the Xhosa was treated in a serious light too. In each case a permit had to be obtained from the Chief Commissioner or King William's Town's magistrate.⁵²⁾ The regulations made it virtually impossible for the Xhosa to obtain fire-arms or ammunition. Several of the local European traders received gaol sentences for this offence.⁵³⁾

Theft was very common in and around the Kaffrarian capital during that era. There was a special preference for oxen and horses. Even outspanned oxen were not immune to theft and on one occasion three of these animals were stolen in front of a leading businessman's house. One of the thieves was apprehended and he was taken to the gaol with a riem around his neck.⁵⁴⁾

The kraals of businessmen and butchers usually adjoined King William's Town and often tempted Xhosa to break into them. These kraals were later prohibited for hygienic reasons. The cattle kept on the commonage were then a popular target for thieves. It was still standard practice to follow the spoor of cattle thieves until it would disappear — usually at the culprit's own kraal.⁵⁵⁾ Even sheep kraals proved a temptation and few of them were safe unless under the protection of a guard. In August 1857 some Xhosa attempted to rob a sheep kraal at the Kaffrarian capital. However, the Black guards prevented any losses.⁵⁶⁾ Crops were also stolen occasionally and once three such culprits were brought into

49) W. Westphal: Ten Years in South Africa, p. 65.

50) BK 15: Giddy - Maclean, 31.8.1860.

51) See sections on Criminal Court and Transportation in this chapter.

52) J. Schwär and R. Jardine: The Letters and Journal of Gustav Steinbart, I, p. 111; G. Journal, 29.9.1855.

53) BK 373: Letter 219, Maclean - Liddle, 14.7.1855, p. 59; K. Gazette, 25.9.1858, 17.4.1860 (Extra).

54) K. Gazette, 6.11.1856.

55) Anglo - Germania, 10.2.1858.

56) K. Gazette, 22.8.1857.

town by four policemen with riems round their necks.⁵⁷⁾ With the growing popularity of "European" commodities, the theft of clothes, ornaments and blankets increased substantially.⁵⁸⁾

In 1855 a daring robbery occurred when a Xhosa entered two tents in the camp of a working party at the Pensioners' Village. He got away with two bayonets and firelocks, as well as two pouches — each with 60 rounds of ammunition. The Xhosa had to pass through a number of sleeping men and a line of guards.⁵⁹⁾ During November 1860 King William's Town experienced a spate of burglaries; the worst affected was Birt's shop in the German Village which was practically stripped of its contents. The spoors were traced to a nearby Xhosa village.⁶⁰⁾

An offence of a different nature was spying. The Kaffrarian Government employed special agents to investigate such cases and those found guilty were usually lodged in the Kaffrarian capital's gaol.⁶¹⁾ The cutting of wood without sawyers' licences was also a punishable offence. Early in 1856 several Fingo with eight wagons laden with wood were stopped in town. They were unlicensed and were released upon payment of their license fees of £5.⁶²⁾ In another case a Xhosa woodcutter was fined £10 and his two loads of wood confiscated.⁶³⁾ The cutting of wood and the "firing of grass" for any purpose was later prohibited, but did not deter some of Tzatzoe's followers from cutting wood and trespassing on a farm near Breidbach.⁶⁴⁾ Other punishable offences which often led to imprisonment in the King William's Town gaol included vagrancy and hunting in the Royal Reserve, being in town after hours and furious riding through the capital's streets.⁶⁵⁾ Two Xhosa females found that the verbal abuse of a garrison sergeant's daughter could cost them two months' imprisonment in the local gaol.⁶⁶⁾

Apart from thefts, drunkenness was undoubtedly the most common offence among the Xhosa. Those found guilty of being intoxicated in public were usually fined £1 or were imprisoned for a week. A drunk Xhosa woman who was fighting in the streets

57) K. Gazette, 21.3.1857.

58) K. Gazette, 21.2.1857, 14.6.1861 (Local and Colonial).

59) G. Journal, 10.11.1855.

60) K. Gazette, 27.11.1860.

61) K. Gazette, 9.6.1860 (Local and Colonial).

62) G. Journal, 9.2.1856.

63) K. Gazette, 3.5.1861 (Local and Colonial).

64) BK 408: Circular, Maclean - Missionaries, 31.8.1860, p. 380; BK 47: J. Goldner - Brownlow (Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe), 31.7.1861.

65) K. Gazette, 23.1.1858, 15.1.1861.

66) K. Gazette, 16.8.1861 (Local and Colonial).

of King William's Town was sentenced "...to two hours enjoyment of the stocks, and a confinement of a few hours afterwards."⁶⁷⁾

The prohibition of the sale of any intoxicating liquor to the Xhosa (and Hottentots) was applicable throughout the British Kaffrarian era. The penalties for illegal sales ranged from £10 for the first transgression to £30 for the third offence.⁶⁸⁾ On several occasions memorials were submitted by local inhabitants to amend the existing regulations, but Maclean always remained strict about its enforcement. Grey was not prepared either to change the existing position.

In spite of the stringent measures the problems of drunkenness and large-scale smuggling continued. A visitor to King William's Town stated that "...where there are canteens any Kafir can get whatever he chooses to have - mealies &c, are always easily changed into wine or spirits."⁶⁹⁾ By 1861 there were seventeen local canteens.⁷⁰⁾ On one occasion a canteen sold brandy on a Sunday to one of Maclean's Xhosa servants; the proprietor was fined £10, his license confiscated and the canteen closed.⁷¹⁾ Early in 1860 six drunken Xhosa were arrested in the streets and a further three of their friends were found in a backroom of one of the canteens.⁷²⁾ Many local European inhabitants were fined for contravening this regulation.⁷³⁾ The soldiers provided another avenue of illegal supply to the Xhosa and in May 1859 they were warned in a Brigade Memorandum to refrain from this practice.

Illegal sales and drunkenness among the Xhosa remained a major legal and social problem in King William's Town. The authorities found that it was virtually impossible to prevent the Xhosa from obtaining liquor and even Maclean had to admit once:

"...There is much notorious illicit selling of Spiritous liquors (sic) both to soldiers and to Natives... however convictions are very seldom obtained"⁷⁴⁾

67) G. Journal, 29.9.1855, K. Gazette, 11.7.1857.

68) BK 403: Maclean - J. Webster, 18.12.1848, p. 48; GH 14/9: Maclean - High Commissioner, 30.9.1848, enclosing District Order 51 dated 28 September 1848.

69) K. Gazette, 2.10.1856 (Letter from "A Visitor" dated 26 September 1856).

70) K. Gazette, 27.2.1858, 22.3.1861 (Local and Colonial).

71) K. Gazette, 12.2.1859.

72) K. Gazette, 7.1.1860.

73) K. Gazette, 11.12.1858, 14.12.1860, 28.12.1860, 10.5.1861, 13.8.1861, etc.

74) BK 95: Memorandum on Spirit Licences, Maclean, ca. October 1857 (n.d.).

f. Police:

Xhosa police played an important rôle in law enforcement in the Kaffrarian capital. The largest police force on the Frontier until its disbandment in 1858 was the so-called Kaffir Police which was raised in 1835.⁷⁵⁾ Their main duties were to go out on patrol, to guard against stockthefts, to trace the spoors of stolen cattle, to apprehend thieves and to act as messengers.⁷⁶⁾ During the Eighth Frontier War the majority of the Kaffir Police deserted and only about 50 Xhosa remained faithful. These men were formed into a detective police force in April 1853.⁷⁷⁾ In 1855 the maintenance of the Kaffir Police was considered too high and their numbers were reduced substantially.⁷⁸⁾ This force was finally disbanded in 1858 — mainly because of financial considerations.⁷⁹⁾

The Kaffir Police made an important contribution to maintain law and order in and around King William's Town. These men were on the whole reliable and prevented many thefts. They were also of great assistance to preventing local disorder during most of the cattle-killing catastrophe. Another important duty of these men was to carry official correspondence to and from the Kaffrarian capital.⁸⁰⁾ Until their disbandment the Kaffir Police was the most important local force and in 1855 they were the only police operating in King William's Town. Although they had a good record and were under European supervision there was still local mistrust:

"The Kaffirs now doing that duty may be efficient to aid and assist an European in the maintenance of order, but no one, we will venture to say, can consider them fit to be entrusted with the peace of the town, and the safety of the lives and properties of the inhabitants." ⁸¹⁾

In September 1856 Grey implemented another scheme which provided for the creation of a Xhosa civil police force consisting of thirty men, of whom eight were stationed at the Kaffrarian capital. Their main duty was to follow up the spoor

75) G. Tylden: The Armed Forces of South Africa, pp. 98 - 99.

76) BK 89: Mackinnon - Capt. Owen, 8.1.1848; Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp. 31, 251.

77) BK 89: A. Cloete (Deputy Quarter Master General) - Maclean, 26.3.1853.

78) BK 405: Maclean - Gen. J. Jackson, 5.5.1855, pp. 389 - 390.

79) BK 397: Maclean - Col. D'Urban, 23.2.1858; BK 379: Schedule 47, Maclean - Grey, 25.3.1858.

80) BK: 397: Maclean - D'Urban, 23.2.1858.

81) G. Journal, 4.8.1855.

of stolen cattle and horses.⁸²⁾ In January 1861 the town's police force consisted of one European sergeant, three European mounted police and eight Black mounted police.⁸³⁾ Grey reduced the number of Xhosa police a month later to four men.⁸⁴⁾ The chief constable was in charge of the gaol.

As described earlier, Grey used the newly established system of headmen and assistants for police duties. This village police system which was introduced in 1856, was aimed largely at maintaining peace and good order in the tribal locations.⁸⁵⁾ It functioned very well in Tzatzoe's territory.

g. The Gaol:

In 1852 the existing lock-up at Fort Hill in King William's Town was taken over for military purposes, which necessitated a new gaol.⁸⁶⁾ This building was largely constructed with military labour and was completed in 1853.⁸⁷⁾

Although the new prison in the Kaffrarian capital was designed for thirty to forty prisoners, the average number of inmates was in excess of fifty.⁸⁸⁾

At times there were more than eighty and once nearly hundred persons in the gaol.⁸⁹⁾ This building and East London's convict depot had to serve British Kaffraria and further afield. It soon proved to be totally inadequate and unsuited for its specific requirements. The need for a more commodious prison was particularly felt from 1857. It was stated in December that the building was overcrowded with vagabond Xhosa; there was an inclination on the part of the Blacks to commit offences in order to attain imprisonment. The local gaol's food was good, the work of an easy character and imprisonment short.⁹⁰⁾ A month later the Gazette reported:

"...It is the intention of government shortly to commence a prison upon a larger scale than the present cramped and crammed affair...The large number of prisoners that have been held in durance there, have rendered this a work of stern necessity."⁹¹⁾

82) BK 10: Maclean - Treasurer, 24.9.1856; BK 137: Maclean - Ayliff (Auditor), 23.10.1856.

83) BK 104: Brownlow - Auditor, 16.1.1861.

84) BK 66: Resident Magistrate - Brownlow, 1.3.1861.

85) GH 30/4: Grey - Maclean, 25.9.1856, pp. 200 - 201.

86) BK 423: Proceedings of the Kaffrarian Board, 2.10.1852.

87) G. Journal, 9.7.1853.

88) BK 379: Schedule 131, Maclean - Grey, 7.10.1858; K. Gazette, 4.4.1857, 11.4.1857, 16.8.1861.

89) BK 379: Schedule 131, Maclean - Grey, 7.10.1858; K. Gazette, 18.12.1858 (Leader).

90) K. Gazette, 12.12.1857 (Leader).

91) K. Gazette, 16.1.1858.

Lieutenant Griffin, a garrison adjutant at King William's Town, inspected the gaol in February 1858 and reported that one of the rooms had three times the required number of prisoners in it. A large tub was inside the room and served as a toilet. Griffin stated that the unpleasant smell from all parts of the prison was intolerable and that of all the "filthy dens" he had ever seen, this place was the worst. The prison yard was crowded with Xhosa women, children and old men. The dirty state of the guard room defied description. The Black prisoners' blankets and rags kept in the guard room were vermin-infested and the room itself also "beastly dirty".⁹²⁾

The overcrowded condition of King William's Town's gaol was eased temporarily by Grey's transportation measures, which caused many Xhosa convicts to be sent to the Western Province. Fort Mackinnon, a detached post situated about 200 yards from the prison, was later used to accommodate convicts during the night. It could take approximately 35 prisoners.⁹³⁾ Some of the prisoners serving long-term sentences were also sent to the convict depot in East London. Many of these convicts were employed on harbour works.⁹⁴⁾ Notwithstanding these measures the position became almost unbearable — especially with the increase of thefts after transportation had been discontinued. By the time of Grey's departure, conditions were appalling and took its toll among the Xhosa inmates during events like the smallpox epidemics.⁹⁵⁾

The authorities at first were indifferent too about the rations issued to the local prisoners and until 1853 consisted only of bread and meat. The existing daily diet was then supplemented with soup, rice, flour and vegetables.⁹⁶⁾ Apart from food supplies, tenders were invited annually for medical comforts, utensils, clothing, materials, bedding and coffins. Punishment tools tendered for included cat - of - nine tails, whips, cords, handcuffs, chains and leg irons.⁹⁷⁾ The District Surgeon and later the hospital staff saw to the medical needs of the King William's Town gaol. Regular inspections were carried out and during the smallpox epidemic a special hospital cottage was fitted out to receive

92) BK 65: Statement, Lieut. P. Griffin, 12.2.1858.

93) K. Gazette, 4.12.1858 (Notes of the Week).

94) BK 386: Maclean - Taylor, 12.2.1859, p. 82; K. Gazette, 21.3.1857, 17.9.1859.

95) K. Gazette, 18.12.1858 (Leader).

96) CO 620: Schedule of Documents, Maclean - Cathcart, 8.11.1853, with Cathcart's undated reply.

97) K. Gazette, 15.10.1859 (Public Notice, 12.10.1859).

affected prisoners.

The Xhosa prisoners apparently spent most of the day in the gaol's courtyard. Those who were sentenced to hard labour were often used on public works projects which benefitted King William's Town. These projects included the eradication of the noxious weed Xanthium Spinosum which abounded around the town, and the clearing of furrows.⁹⁸⁾ The prisoners were all under the care of a chief constable, a gaoler and guards.⁹⁹⁾ The military sometimes assisted by providing night guards.

Despite precautionary measures, the Xhosa made numerous attempts to escape from the Kaffrarian capital's gaol. These escapes were sometimes facilitated by carelessness and insufficient precautions. During an inspection of the building in February 1858 Lieut. Griffin found that the prison gates were in a state of disrepair and that the prison walls were too low in many parts.¹⁰⁰⁾

In May 1857 a major escape occurred when between 30 to 40 Xhosa prisoners broke out of the gaol. The men of the Cape Corps rushed through the town in pursuit of the prisoners and eventually all except twelve were recaptured. Some Xhosa working at the quarries refused to assist in returning three convicts unless they were remunerated.¹⁰¹⁾ Early in 1858 there was another large-scale attempt to escape when more than 20 Xhosa overpowered a gaoler and sentry. The military again followed the prisoners but only six or seven could be apprehended.¹⁰²⁾

Fort Mackinnon itself was described as a very insecure place and on occasion six Xhosa prisoners escaped from there.¹⁰³⁾ A Black prisoner once got away from the main prison by crawling through the drain leading from the courtyard.¹⁰⁴⁾ During the smallpox epidemic another convict effected his escape from the hospital cottage where he was placed under quarantine.¹⁰⁵⁾ When some Xhosa hard labourers had to bury an ox, they saw in it a good opportunity to escape from custody.¹⁰⁶⁾

98) BK 387: Brownlow - Taylor, 9.12.1860, p. 20; BK 387: Brownlow - Taylor, 25.5.1861, p. 126.

99) BK 65: Taylor - Maclean, 10.11.1854.

100) BK 65: Statement, Lieut. P. Griffin, 12.2.1858.

101) K. Gazette, 9.5.1857; Germania, 13.5.1857.

102) K. Gazette, 6.2.1858.

103) K. Gazette, 4.12.1858 (Notes of the Week).

104) BK 47: W. Wingrove (Chief Constable) - T. Giddy (Acting Magistrate), 29.7.1861; K. Gazette, 2.8.1861 (Local and Colonial).

105) BK 66: Wingrove - Resident Magistrate, 21.12.1859.

106) BK 65: Resident Magistrate - Maclean, 29.10.1855.

King William's Town's primitive gaol, the overcrowded conditions, the insufficient staff and shortcomings in its precautionary measures all contributed to the many escapes — and to the many complaints.

h. Transportation:

A temporary penal measure which was resorted to during the state of emergency resulting from the cattle-killing crisis, was transportation to Cape Town. As in the case of the Xhosa chiefs who were transported under the wide powers given to the authorities under the Kaffrarian Notice of 3 March 1857, the sentences imposed on ordinary Xhosa tribesmen were usually disproportionate to the offences. The proclamation came immediately into effect and at the end of March most of the Xhosa in the King William's Town gaol were awaiting transportation.¹⁰⁷⁾

In April 1857 twelve Xhosa were sentenced to death in terms of Grey's proclamation for armed robberies. These sentences were commuted to transportation.¹⁰⁸⁾ One of Tzatzoe's followers received a transportation sentence of seven years for stealing a case of gin from his master's wagon. Three other men of the Ama Ntinde tribe were sentenced to three years' transportation for stealing seven goats from the Brownlee Mission.¹⁰⁹⁾ A Xhosa female was transported for two years by stealing a turkey from the Resident Magistrate and many Xhosa received three years' imprisonment for being in the Royal Reserve without passes. Several others were transported for seven years for stealing a goat and in another case three Xhosa were sentenced to fourteen years' transportation for losing or disposing of eight head of cattle belonging to a local inhabitant.¹¹⁰⁾ One of Tzatzoe's followers was transported for three years for trying to buy bread in one of King William's Town's shops with counterfeit coins.¹¹¹⁾

Most of the cases involving transportation were heard by the Resident Magistrate at King William's Town. In at least one instance an Ama Ntinde tribesman appeared

107) K. Gazette, 28.3.1857.

108) Du Toit: The Cape Frontier, pp. 101 - 102.

109) K. Gazette, 4.7.1857 (Return of Kaffirs Transported from British Kaffraria from 26 March to 15 June 1857).

110) BK 468: Evidence before Resident Magistrate, 11.9.1857; K. Gazette, 23.1.1858 (Return of Kaffirs Transported between 6 October 1857 and 13 January 1858).

111) BK 467: Case of Mxlanga, appearing before Magistrate, 1.10.1857.

before a court assembled by the Special Magistrate with Tzatzoe.¹¹²⁾ After being sentenced to transportation, the prisoners were usually lodged in the local gaol prior to their departure for Cape Town (Barrington gave the final verdicts after which Maclean imposed the sentences). The convicts were taken by military escort to East London, from where they travelled by ship to Cape Town. Altogether 903 prisoners were transported to the Western Cape from April to December 1857. This included 183 women and 176 children. Most of the prisoners were sent to service in the Colony.¹¹³⁾ The transportation measures continued for the first half of 1858, but it was on a much smaller scale.¹¹⁴⁾

At the beginning of 1858 it was clear that the Kaffrarian Notice had the desired effect, with a sharp decrease in thefts and particularly armed robberies. In April the local Gazette recalled the earlier notoriety of King William's Town and the surrounding country as a result of the many thefts by Xhosa. Wagoners were afraid to trust their oxen east of the Keiskamma River. Grey's measures made it safe again for carriers to flock to the capital and that led to a fall of 50 per cent in the carriage charges.¹¹⁵⁾

Grey formally withdrew this regulation in October 1858 when he realized that the state of emergency was something of the past.¹¹⁶⁾ The result was an immediate increase in the number of thefts and outrages in King William's Town.

i. Remissions and Pardons:

After the stringent measures applied under the Government Notice of 3 March 1857, a more lenient and human approach was followed by the Kaffrarian authorities. In King William's Town there were cases of sentences being remitted, of convicts being reprieved and of prisoners being released from the local gaol. The inhabitants sometimes showed their compassion by signing petitions for the release of prisoners in unfortunate circumstances.

112) BK 467: Proceedings of a Special Magistrate's Court, 15.9.1857.

113) K. Gazette, 16.1.1858.

114) K. Gazette, 16.1.1858, 10.4.1858, 2.10.1858.

115) K. Gazette, 24.4.1858.

116) K. Gazette, 11.9.1858.

On one occasion there was a request for the release of two female prisoners from the King William's Town gaol. The one woman was eight months pregnant; there was no female cell available and they had to stay in one of the gaoler's rooms.¹¹⁷⁾ These convicts were soon afterwards pardoned. In 1860 another female prisoner was granted a conditional pardon after being found guilty of infanticide.¹¹⁸⁾ Death sentences were often commuted.

For good conduct, prisoners in the local gaol could be reprieved too. In December 1858 Maclean instructed the local magistrate to furnish him monthly with the names of any such persons:

"It appears to me that in the case of Natives imprisoned for vagrancy in the Crown Reserve, or for offences not really of a criminal nature who have behaved well during their confinement such remission of sentence may be allowed without detriment to the ends of justice, and is absolutely necessary as the only existing means to reduce the overcrowded state of the Gaol."¹¹⁹⁾

A month later the Chief Commissioner, on the recommendation of the Resident Magistrate, authorized the release of the first twenty such prisoners from King William's Town's gaol.¹²⁰⁾

Sir George Grey's High Commissionership brought about revolutionary changes in the customary law system of the Ama Ntinde tribe, as well as all the other Xhosa tribes in British Kaffraria. The effects of these measures were felt at all levels. The harshness of transportation and the poor gaol conditions in King William's Town can be regarded as some of the most unsatisfactory aspects of Grey's administration.

117) BK 100: Dr. J. Peters - Fitz Gerald, 12.10.1858.

118) BK 409: Brownlow - H. Kayser, 24.10.1860, p. 28.

119) BK 386: Maclean - Taylor, 21.12.1858, p. 26.

120) BK 386: Maclean - Taylor, 4.1.1859, p. 36.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GROWTH OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

a. Economic Factors:

King William's Town's central geographical position as well as its commercial ties with Grahamstown, the port of East London and the north-eastern districts of the Cape Colony, made it the natural economic centre for the large Xhosa population of British Kaffraria and Kaffraria Proper. This fact, combined with the town's meteoric rise from 1847, resulted in Grahamstown losing much of its earlier economic significance in this region. ¹⁾ Despite King William's Town's small civilian population (there were still only 626 Europeans in 1856), it developed within a few years into one of South Africa's major commercial centres. ²⁾ This was largely due to the extent of the so-called "Kaffir trade".

With the Xhosa's traditional subsistence economy, this trade was at first limited to a few necessities like food and blankets, the latter commodity providing them with warmth and clothing. In April 1853 as many as 1000 blankets were sold in town in one day. Chief Umhala was among the buyers. ³⁾ However, the Xhosa soon developed more sophisticated tastes, which made the local traders to diversify. With the introduction of money, the improved roads and with the Xhosa finding a ready market for their own produce in the Kaffrarian capital, the streets were often crowded with Blacks. ⁴⁾ The local "Kaffir trade" only declined temporarily in 1857 as a result of the cattle-killing catastrophe. ⁵⁾ By then King William's Town had become almost entirely dependent on this trade and military expenditure — the latter to a smaller extent. ⁶⁾ The many work opportunities also added to the town's popularity.

Various features of the Xhosa's contribution to the Kaffrarian capital's economic welfare, their growing dependence on the town's economy and its influence on their traditional customs call for a more detailed discussion.

1) G. Journal, 26.8.1854 ("Notes of a Traveller").

2) D S G B K 1 : Report by J. Bisset, 30.6.1856, p.15.

3) G. Journal, 5.4.1853 (Extra), 30.4.1853.

4) G. Journal, 19.1.1856; K. Gazette, 16.10.1858 (Notes of the Week).

5) K. Gazette, 26.6.1858 (Leader).

6) K. Gazette, 25.9.1856.

b. Traditional Economy and Trading Commodities:

In the mid-nineteenth century cattle still formed the basis of the Xhosa's economic life. Cattle supplied the milk and meat for their staple diet and the leather for clothing.⁷⁾ It further provided the Xhosa with draught animals for ploughing and wagon transport, while also forming their main trading commodity.

The horns and hides of the cattle were particularly popular as trading articles in King William's Town, but the Xhosa even sold milk and butter locally. Hides were always much sought-after trading items; during the lung-sickness and later with the cattle-killing catastrophe thousands were sold. One local dealer estimated that he alone had bought some 43000 hides between January 1854 and August 1856.⁸⁾ This was before the cattle-killing really started taking its toll. The convenient geographical position of the Ama Ntinde tribe and the Xhosa living on the Mission, enabled them to make a substantial contribution to the supply of milk and butter to the Kaffrarian capital's inhabitants. Even Chief Tzatzoe partly supported his family from the income derived from selling milk. Especially after the Eighth Frontier War the military and civilians also bought butter readily from the Xhosa.⁹⁾ The main outlet for the sale of live cattle were King William's Town's market and the regular auction sales.

Because of this economic importance of cattle among the Xhosa, it was no wonder that the King William's Town Gazette once remarked that they treated their cattle like "idols".¹⁰⁾ Goats later also became popular among the Ama Ntinde and other Xhosa tribes, but it was apparently not used as a trading commodity. It was estimated that in December 1860 there were 449 goats and 251 cattle in Tzatzoe's location.¹¹⁾ This was in sharp contrast to the 1960 cattle which the tribe had in 1848. The decrease was largely due to the lung-sickness and cattle-killing.

7) Soga : The Ama-Xosa, p.381.

8) 1857 - 8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7: Grey - Labouchere, 3.11.1856, p.35 (See also chapter on cattle-killing delusion).

9) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp.115, 130.

10) K. Gazette, 30.10.1856.

11) BK 109 : Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860; 1857-8, XL (2352). State of the Kaffir Tribes, 1856-7: Census of the Gaika District, 1848, p.43.

Being primarily pastoralists, the cultivation of the ground was of secondary importance to the Xhosa. Corn and millet were the most popular crops and surpluses were sold in the Kaffrarian capital from at least the early eighteen-fifties.¹²⁾ With the emphasis on a subsistence economy and with the limited arable land for each family unit, these products were never sold in large quantities. The only exception was during the cattle-killing crisis, when all cattle and corn were supposed to be destroyed. In 1855 some vegetables cultivated by Xhosa reached King William's Town, but this was mainly grown at mission stations.¹³⁾

The iron hoe was used among the Xhosa from their first economic contact with the Europeans. John Moodie, 1820 Settler and author, visited the Buffalo Mission in about 1828 and already observed Blacks cultivating their gardens with this implement.¹⁴⁾ The hoe was supreme for many years among the Ama Ntinde and other tribes and in December 1860 there were still only seven ploughs among Tzatzoe's people.¹⁵⁾ This was largely due to the expense of the latter and the necessity of training oxen.¹⁶⁾

By 1861 the wagon industry in King William's Town was a flourishing one and the main source of supply for the Xhosa tribes. The Fingo in the Royal Reserve owned 71 wagons and wagons were also particularly popular in Kaffraria Proper. The Ama Ntinde tribe was still impoverished by events like the lung-sickness and only had five wagons.¹⁷⁾ The large numbers of wagons arriving with products from outlying areas in British Kaffraria and Kaffraria Proper, was a sure sign of the capital's economic importance to the region as a whole and of the growing popularity of this commodity.¹⁸⁾ Wagons obviously also enabled the town's traders to take their products to the Black population.

The Xhosa Christians on the Brownlee Mission were on the whole much more affluent than their tribal counterparts. This was largely because of the strong European influence and their weakening links with the traditional subsistence

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- 12) R. Godlonton and E. Irving : Narrative of the Kaffir War 1850 - 1851, p.67.
 13) G. Journal, 24.11.1855.
 14) J. Moodie : Ten Years in South Africa, II, p.267.
 15) BK 109 : Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860.
 16) Soga : The Ama-Xosa p.383.
 17) BK 109 : Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860.
 18) G. Journal, 24.11.1855, 22.12.1855.

economy. In December 1853 the Blacks living on this station owned no fewer than 27 wagons and about the same number of ploughs. There were also more than 470 trained oxen.¹⁹⁾ They could therefore make a substantial contribution to King William's Town's flourishing economy — particularly in supplying firewood, wagons for transport purposes, slaughter cattle, milk and butter.

c. Traders:

The earliest economic contact between the Xhosa and the Europeans were through licensed traders at the few trading points allowed by the Government. The traders were often unscrupulous and the Xhosa viewed them with general suspicion.²⁰⁾ This was illustrated by the hostile action against them at the outbreak of the Frontier Wars of 1835 and 1846. On both occasions a number of traders fled to King William's Town for safety.²¹⁾

The first traders to settle in this Frontier town probably arrived shortly after its founding in May 1835 as the capital of the Province of Queen Adelaide. Even after the retrocession of the Province in 1836 some traders remained behind — as the Rev. James Backhouse observed during his visit to the Buffalo Mission in 1839. Backhouse further mentioned that there was a lively local trade with the Xhosa in gum arabic and hides. According to this missionary traveller three wagons a week were sometimes sent to Grahamstown. The Xhosa also collected a coarse kind of silk from cocoons found in thorn trees for trading purposes.²²⁾ Largely because of this "Kaffir trade" there were 38 licensed traders in British Kaffraria in 1848.²³⁾ Many of them were stationed in King William's Town because of its convenient situation.

By 1854 King William's Town's main importance for the large Xhosa population of British Kaffraria, and even Kaffraria Proper, lay in the tremendous variety it could offer in the economic sphere. The diversity and cheaper prices which the local traders and shops could offer, gave them a great advantage over the traditional rural trading stations. The large numbers of Blacks

19) Holt : *Greatheart of the Border*, p.130.

20) D. Rivett - Carnac : *Hawk's Eye*, p.64.

21) C. Brownlee : *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History*, pp.25-26,38; Holt : *Greatheart of the Border*, p.117.

22) J. Backhouse : *Narrative of A Visit to Mauritius and South Africa*, pp.237 - 238.

23) BK 371 : Letter 38, Mackinnon - High Commissioner (H.Smith), 12.7.1848.

in town who soon formed part of the daily scene, illustrated their preference for shopping in the Kaffrarian capital. Regarding this growing "Kaffir trade" the Graham's Town Journal's correspondent in King William's Town reported in December 1855 that " ... scarcely a day passes without the arrival of wagon trains, bearing merchandise to the stores of the established traders, or to those branch houses seeking here a 'habitation and a name' " ²⁴⁾ These stores and shops sprang up like mushrooms and in 1855 several new ones were described as "... commodious and substantial stores .." ²⁵⁾ Even double-storeyed stores with iron roofs soon appeared. ²⁶⁾ Smith Street, forming the entrance from Grahamstown, was the main business centre although Berkeley Street was also popular among the traders. ²⁷⁾

A factor which favoured the local traders from 1855 onwards was the publication on 7 September 1855 of new regulations for British Kaffraria. This proclamation repealed the previous regulations which were in many respects unnecessarily harsh. Under the new regulations the general traders' licences were reduced to only £2 each. ²⁸⁾ Another factor which favoured economic stability was the establishment in King William's Town of branches of well-known businesses in Cape Town and Grahamstown. The prosperous position of the general dealers as a whole led the editor of the King William's Town Gazette to remark in August 1857:

"For many months past our mercantile houses — some of which are branch concerns — have been doing a trade that might successfully compare with the old established and flourishing colonial establishments. " ²⁹⁾

The advertisements in contemporary newspapers clearly illustrate the surprising variety of articles that the general dealers offered for sale in the Frontier capital during the 1850 s. As the traders were mainly dependent on the "Kaffir trade", these advertisements give a fair indication of the economic needs of the Xhosa in a changing society. Apart from foods and clothes Charles Kidd, for example, sold anything from saddlery, ironmongery and confectionery to groceries, furniture and earthenware in 1854. ³⁰⁾ Henry Head was also a wealthy local dealer who in August 1854 advertised articles ranging from food

24) G. Journal, 22.12.1855.

25) G. Journal, 10.12.1855.

26) K. Gazette, 3.1.1857 (Advertisement).

27) K. Gazette, 11.12.1856.

28) G. Journal, 29.9.1855.

29) K. Gazette, 15.8.1857 (Leader).

30) G. Journal, 6.5.1854 (Advertisement) - See also separate sections on clothes and food.

and clothes to tobacco and soap. ³¹⁾

Another noteworthy storekeeper in King William's Town was Thomas Cox who owned "Cox's Winkle". As an enterprising businessman he always had something special in his store. For his Christmas stock in 1856 Cox imported tea from China, sugar from Jamaica, tobacco from the United States and coffee from Natal, while the rest of the stock was imported from England. ³²⁾ In November 1857 Cox again announced that he had received sixty large tarpaulins for wagoners "... and from Natal 1500 Eland Reims, 60 Bosch Buck Voerslag Skins and 25 braided trektouws." ³³⁾ This was at a time when wagons became a popular form of transport with the Xhosa. Among the many other commodities which the traders sold to the Blacks, the most sought-after items were iron pots, axes, ploughs and clay pipes. ³⁴⁾ With the growing popularity of ploughs, several stores specialized in ironmongery. ³⁵⁾

The seats of the special magistrates were other trading outlets for the Kaffrarian capital's trading community. In December 1856 the first general traders' licence was issued for "Jan Tzatzoes Kraal". ³⁶⁾

In consequence of King William's Town's economic importance to the Xhosa population, as well as their preference for the great selection which the stores offered, the general traders and merchants formed by far the largest part of the local business community. In 1861 there were 39 registered dealers and 9 merchants. ³⁷⁾

d. Food:

By 1850 the necessities of life for the Ama Ntinde tribe were to a large extent still provided by their cattle. Together with corn, the meat and milk from the cattle formed their staple food. However, goats soon became another important source of food for Tzatzoe's followers. ³⁸⁾ This traditional

31) G. Journal, 19.8.1854 (Advertisement).

32) K. Gazette, 4.12.1856 (Advertisement).

33) K. Gazette, 7.11.1857 (Advertisement).

34) G. Journal, 8.4.1854, 12.1.1856; K. Gazette, 14.8.1856, 21.8.1856.

35) K. Gazette, 17.4.1858, 14.5.1861 (Advertisements).

36) BK 220 : Statement of licences issued, 1.12.1858.

37) K. Gazette Extraordinary, 14.5.1861 (Burgess Roll of the Borough of King William's Town).

38) BK 109: Population Returns, British Kaffraria, 31.12.1860. (In December

diet was probably at first followed by the growing number of Xhosas from elsewhere who settled in the vicinity of King William's Town.

As a result of their contact with the Europeans and with their introduction to money, the local Blacks gradually modified and supplemented their staple diet. Bread was one of the most popular of these Western foods — no wonder that J. Thackwray already had a lucrative trade as a baker and confectioner in 1848.³⁹⁾ The wide variety of groceries at the general dealers' stores also introduced the Xhosa to new staple foods. These included rice, sugar, coffee, beans and flour. Joseph Levy was one of the wealthier dealers in King William's Town and in June 1857 he advertised that he had, among other items, 1000 bags of rice and Mauritius sugar, as well as 650 barrels of American flour for sale. This was apart from a large supply of Colonial meal and beans which were particularly popular among the Xhosa.⁴⁰⁾ Fruit and vegetables were very scarce initially and often had to be imported.⁴¹⁾ The high prices probably precluded most of the Blacks from buying items like these — this also applied to meat with its fluctuating prices.

The influence of the Europeans on the traditional staple diet of the Xhosa in and around King William's Town was stimulated by the labour pattern. The growing number of Blacks who worked privately in town or who were employed on public works and in institutions like the Hospital, were introduced through rationing or otherwise to a whole new range of "luxuries". Most of these foods were easily available and relatively cheap. This obviously affected the families of those concerned.

With the so-called Xhosa National Suicide (1856 - 1857) which led to the large-scale destruction of their traditional sources of food supply, the Xhosa were virtually forced to eat "European" food. The labourers who went to the Colony in large numbers during this crisis, also came into contact with Western eating habits. Bread, rice and sugar were particularly popular locally during this episode.⁴²⁾ By 1861 the traditional food pattern of the

39) BK 433 : Thackwray — Mackinnon, 23.12.1848.

40) G. Journal, 27.6.1856 (Advertisement).

41) Germania, 5.12.1857 (Supplement).

42) K. Gazette, 28.2.1857 (Undated letter by Loftus Cassidy).

Xhosa in and around King William's Town had been greatly influenced by the Europeans and their wide range of foods.

e. Clothes:

In a pioneer community like King William's Town all cloth and linen had to be imported. The local tailors — there were sixteen by 1861⁴³⁾ — usually bought their materials wholesale from drapers and again sold many of their finished products in the general dealers' shops and stores. This was apart from the products which were often directly imported. Although the clothing needs of the Xhosa were at first often limited to blankets, this position had changed by 1854 through continued contact with the Europeans — particularly the missionaries. With the large Black population in British Kaffraria and further afield to cater for, most of the tailors and shops in King William's Town concentrated on the "Kaffir trade".

Special provision was soon made for the Xhosa's varying tastes. The smaller shops often specialized in haberdashery, while the stores usually sold large varieties and quantities of "Kaffir Truck". This included clothes, cloths, "shirtings and sheetings",⁴⁴⁾ blankets, handkerchiefs, shawls and even cravats.⁴⁵⁾ Many of the local tailors later found it necessary to employ tailor journeymen to meet the growing needs of the Black rural population in British Kaffraria.⁴⁶⁾

Drapery and millinery establishments were not uncommon in King William's Town in those days, although they largely concentrated on the needs of the European inhabitants. Accessories such as hats and shoes were more popular among the Xhosa. These items were sold in most shops and stores, although by 1854 the local shoemaking industry was well established.⁴⁷⁾ The best known of the earlier boot and shoemakers was James Mc Intyre who owned the "King William's Town Boot and Shoe Warehouse" in Smith Street.⁴⁸⁾

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- 43) K. Gazette Extraordinary, 14.5.1861 (Burgess Roll of the Borough of King William's Town).
 - 44) Anglo-Germania, 17.12.1858 (Advertisement).
 - 45) K. Gazette, 14.5.1861 (Advertisement).
 - 46) K. Gazette, 14.8.1856, 28.8.1856 (Advertisements).
 - 47) G. Journal, 15.4.1854; K. Gazette, 27.3.1859 (Advertisements).
 - 48) K. Gazette, 7.5.1859 (Advertisement).

f. The Market:

The market place in King William's Town formed the hub of commercial activities for Black and White during the British Kaffrarian era. A large percentage of the trading in town was conducted there. This included the sale or auctioning of animals, foodstuffs, fodder, furniture and means of transport. The fact that many of the essentials of daily life in a frontier community could be obtained there cheaply and on a regular basis, made the market place very popular among all social strata.

The establishment of a local market had its beginnings on 31 May 1848 when, at a public meeting of European licensed traders, it was agreed that a market was highly desirable. A market committee was then formed and regulations were subsequently drawn up for the proper running of a new market. ⁴⁹⁾

A noteworthy feature of the first years of the market's existence was the regular cattle sales held between 1850 and 1853. This was largely because the Kaffrarian capital formed a comfortable outlet for the cattle which were confiscated during and immediately after the Eighth Frontier War from the warring Xhosa tribes. Kreli alone had to pay a fine of 1500 cattle for the destruction of property at Butterworth during the latter War. ⁵⁰⁾ The official market returns for 1853 showed that 1 337 oxen and cows had been sold on the local market. ⁵¹⁾

After the unsettled war years, the market in King William's Town grew steadily in importance. From 1855 market sales averaged about £60 a day. This is reflected in the sales figures for the period January 1856 to October

- 49) BK 434 : Minutes of a meeting held in King William's Town on 31 May 1848 and proposals for market regulations submitted to Col. Mackinnon (See also BK 403 : Maclean — Messrs. Webb, Simpson and Hewetson, 24.6.1848, p.156).
 50) BK 371 : Letter 19, Maclean — Liddle, 19.11.1852, p.267.
 51) BK 121 : Return of Market Sales, 17.1.1854.

1857, which totalled £19 335. Of this amount a total of £14 635 was for 1857.⁵²⁾ The cattle-killing episode therefore had no adverse effect on the local market. On the contrary, there was a marked increase in the sale of cattle and particularly hides.⁵³⁾ Although the prices of live-stock on the market was very low during this phase, high prices were again paid by August 1857 — particularly for cattle. Oat-hay was also popular.⁵⁴⁾

Animal fairs were held periodically on the market square, the first of these being a horse fair which took place in November 1853.⁵⁵⁾ The so-called "King William's Town Horse, Cattle and Produce Fair" which was held on 25 and 26 June 1857, was on a much larger scale.⁵⁶⁾ Apart from horses and spans of oxen, smaller items such as hides and karosses were sold. The total sales amounted to about £4 700.⁵⁷⁾

These fairs grew in popularity and had become a half-yearly event by 1861. The rôle of the Xhosa population in these events was on the whole negligible. However, they participated more freely in the private animal and produce sales, which eventually became an almost daily event. Red clay was among the articles eagerly bought up by the Blacks.⁵⁸⁾

At a public meeting on 11 July 1859 a change in the market venue was proposed.⁵⁹⁾ A month later there was a reference to a new market square between the Old and New Town.⁶⁰⁾ This was a more central market site and was soon widely used by all sections of King William's Town's community as well as further afield.

52) BK 45 : J.H. Parker (market master) — Maclean, 1.3.1857; K. Gazette, 21.11.1857 (Letter from "Observer" dated 20 November 1857).

53) See Chapter VI.

54) K. Gazette, 1.8.1857.

55) G. Journal, 5.11.1853.

56) K. Gazette, 16.5.1857 (Advertisement).

57) K. Gazette, 27.6.1857.

58) K. Gazette, 31.5.1861 (Local and Colonial).

59) K. Gazette, Extra, 12.7.1859.

60) BK 109 : Government Notice 25, 15.8.1859 (This market site was used as such until November 1980).

The market's growing popularity was reflected in the market returns for 1861. In March, for example, the sales totalled £884-11-5. This included the sale of 17 521 pounds of meal, 60 520 pounds of potatoes, 4 690 pounds of salt and 1 481 pounds of butter. The market dues amounted to £24-19-11½.⁶¹⁾ In July the sales increased to £1967-16-6 and the market dues to £48-3-7. During this record month a total of 29 172 pounds of meal, 207 615 pounds of Indian and Kafir corn, 72 750 pounds of oat-hay, 57 789 pounds of potatoes and 20 821 feet of timber were sold.⁶²⁾ Apart from the military, the Xhosa were the main producers and buyers of these products.

A further milestone for the King William's Town market was its transfer on 11 June 1861 to the newly established Borough.⁶³⁾ The market thereafter continued to be the commercial and social centre of the town for Blacks and Whites, although its administration remained under European control.

g. Auctions:

The market sales were augmented by regular auctions which also made a substantial contribution to King William's Town's economic growth. These auctions offered a wide variety of items for sale, notably fixed properties, jewellery, all possible forms of transport and even book collections.⁶⁴⁾ The auctioneers therefore did not concentrate on the needs of the Xhosa consumers, although clothes, cattle and horses were sold from time to time. On one occasion 1 000 pairs of trousers were auctioned.⁶⁵⁾

h. Occupations:

King William's Town offered a surprisingly wide variety of work opportunities

61) BK 112 : Return of Produce sold on the Market at King William's Town during March 1861.

62) K. Gazette, 13.8.1861.

63) BK 137 : Brownlow - Auditor, 29.6.1861.

64) K. Gazette, 24.4.1858.

65) G. Journal, 3.5.1856.

to the Xhosa population in the middle of the nineteenth century. As with the Government's public works schemes and the migrant labour system, most of the available work was for men.⁶⁶⁾ This was in many ways contradictory to the traditions of the Blacks where the women tended to the lands, collected firewood and prepared the food. The main duties of the men were the herding of livestock, the milking of cows and the building of enclosures. This division of labour among the Xhosa, with the women doing most of the work, was foreign to the European inhabitants of King William's Town and once led the editor of the local Gazette to remark:

"... Continuous labour is in his esteem alike distasteful and degrading; his women are his slaves ..." 67)

The earliest local Black contact with the Western labour pattern was at the Buffalo Mission. Apart from assisting with the erection of a chapel and other structures, Xhosa labourers helped John Brownlee to construct his irrigation channel. After the Rev. James Backhouse had visited this Station in February 1839, he wrote that from six to eight labourers had been employed on the project from the latter part of 1838.⁶⁸⁾

Within a year of the establishment of King William's Town as the capital of British Kaffraria, Sir Harry Smith could report in October 1848 on the significant contribution of the Xhosa workers to the town's rapid expansion. He said:

"... It gratified me to perceive between 200 and 300 Kafirs of both sexes hard at work in building houses, and aiding in the cultivation of the gardens, which, irrigated from the waters of the Buffalo, are in a thriving and luxuriant condition. The employment in this manner of so many Kafirs at the great post, is important; teaching at once habits of industry and the use of money ..." 69)

66) See also Chapter IV.

67) K. Gazette, 21.8.1856 (Leader).

68) J. Backhouse : Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa, p.237.

69) 1849, XXXVI (1056). Corresp. re Kaffirs, 1848 - 9:

Smith - Earl Grey, 21.10.1848, p.29.

During the Eighth Frontier War (1850 - 1853) several of Chief Tzatzoe's followers carried post and messages.⁷⁰⁾ The loyal Xhosa who had remained on the Brownlee Mission during the War, also supplied firewood and assisted in bringing supplies from the Buffalo Mouth to King William's Town. Considerable numbers of them were employed on a daily basis in town.⁷¹⁾

By 1854 a definite labour pattern had emerged in the Kaffrarian capital. Most of the European inhabitants had Black domestic servants. The large business community mainly employed wagon drivers, shop assistants, craftsmen's assistants, grooms and herds. This was at a time when the building industry experienced a boom, with a great demand for masons, brickmakers, builders, thatchers, carpenters, painters and even glaziers. This was also in an era when the wealthier citizens owned one or more horses and when a number of cattle kraals existed on the town's outskirts, catering largely for the needs of the local garrison.

The military apparently did not make much use of Xhosa labour, which was understandable after having waged two wars against them in quick succession. Where necessary, the military employed Hottentots although some of the Commissariat wagon drivers and leaders were Xhosa. They lived at the Mule Train establishment. A notable exception was also made in 1858 when several regiments left for service in India. This occasionally forced the military to hire Blacks to perform the work of fatigue parties - "... a circumstance unprecedented in the annals of King William's Town."⁷²⁾ The military contractors (usually a few civilians) who supplied the military with commodities like oat-hay and corn, probably used Xhosa labourers on a fairly extensive scale on their farms near the capital.

70) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, pp.125 - 126.

71) BK 407 : Maclean - R. Routh, 4.2.1858, p.36; LG 138: Maclean - Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor, 4.2.1858.

72) K. Gazette, 2.10.1858.

The cattle-killing crisis (1856 - 1857) did not affect King William's Town's prosperity much and it was able to absorb a substantial number of Xhosa workers. However, the nature and extent of this mania was such that at least 30 000 destitutes had to go to work in the Cape Colony. ⁷³⁾ This was apart from the many Xhosa employed on public works in King William's Town and elsewhere (The monthly average during 1857 was about two thousand). The Xhosa's attitude towards the traditional division of labour thereafter changed gradually and the men were consequently more amenable to go to centres like King William's Town in search of work.

Apart from the large numbers of Xhosa who found employment as a result of Sir George Grey's labour policy, several of his other measures led to new work opportunities in the Kaffrarian capital. These included an interpreter, several orderlies and a personal assistant for the Superintendent of the Native Hospital, as well as messengers and interpreters at newly established Government departments such as the Survey Office and the Deeds Office. The creation of a Special Magistrate for Tzatzoe further led to the appointment of paid Xhosa officials who, amongst other duties, acted as policemen. ⁷⁴⁾ Before Grey's arrival it was standard practice for the senior civil officers to use Black servants and interpreters in their official capacities. By 1854 the Kaffrarian Government had also employed Xhosa as postal runners and in existing establishments like the magistrate's office.

The Xhosa servants employed by King William's Town's civilian population nevertheless remained the largest section of the local labour force. In some cases their duties included the fetching of drinking water from the Buffalo River. ⁷⁵⁾ Many of these servants came from the Brownlee Mission and were on the whole very honest. ⁷⁶⁾ The revised local regulations of 1855, however, provided that no claims of an older date than one month for debts incurred by servants on their masters' accounts would be entertained. ⁷⁷⁾

73) BK 379 : Schedule 6, Maclean - Grey, 18.1.1858.

74) BK 121 : Statement of Expenditure with Jan Tzatzoe's tribe Department for year ending 31 December 1857, 29.12.1857.

75) K. Gazette, 7.2.1857 (Leader).

76) Holt : Greatheart of the Border, p.131.

77) Laws and Regulations of British Kaffraria, p.17.

i. Industries:

In a pioneering community the population was largely dependent on their own skills or those of their fellow-inhabitants to make life as comfortable as possible. This interdependence and demand made the Frontier capital very popular among artisans, but they were almost exclusively geared to the needs of the European inhabitants. They included the large number of builders, masons, carpenters and painters, as well as the sawyers, glaziers, tinsmiths and plumbers. About the only local trades which catered for the Blacks too were the few saddlers and harness makers, as well as the blacksmiths and farriers. These industries became increasingly popular with the growing number of Xhosa who owned horses.

The best known blacksmith and farrier in those days was John Kelly.⁷⁸⁾
 A second noteworthy person was George Baker who advertised in June 1858 that he had in his employment a good shoeing smith and farrier.⁷⁹⁾ About a year later R. Hoggan opened his new farriery in Mackinnon Street.⁸⁰⁾
 A rarer occupation was that of saddler and harness maker. C. Crocker was one of the few tradesmen who was occupied as such.⁸¹⁾

j. Hotels:

Judging by the large number of hotels in King William's Town between 1853 and 1861, the town was without doubt one of the most popular centres in the country at the time (By 1861 there were at least thirteen local hotels).⁸²⁾
 These establishments catered particularly for visiting travellers, businessmen and the local European inhabitants. The facilities at all the

78) K. Gazette, 1.5.1858 (Advertisement).

79) K. Gazette, 5.6.1858 (Advertisement).

80) K. Gazette, 27.7.1859 (Advertisement).

81) K. Gazette, 31.8.1858 (Advertisement).

82) K. Gazette, 26.2.1861 (Government Notice 18 dated 23 February 1861).

reputable hotels included stabling and a canteen, and in some cases even a billiard table. The Xhosa were apparently excluded from using any of these facilities at a time when the sale of liquor "... to any person of the coloured races" was strictly forbidden.⁸³⁾

The hotel trade in King William's Town did, however, probably make use of Xhosa servants and stabling attendants. The first known establishment with extensive stabling was the Phoenic Hotel which was already in existence in 1853.⁸⁴⁾ Undoubtedly one of the largest hotels at the time was the King William's Town Hotel which in 1856 offered stabling accommodation for twenty-five horses, with grooms in attendance.⁸⁵⁾ A number of other hotels were surprisingly large and the hotel trade as a whole probably served as an important source of employment among the town's Black population.

k. Banks:

The earliest financial transactions between Black and White and among the Xhosa themselves in British Kaffraria were done by barter. Cattle were the most popular bartering item. The population of King William's Town was, however, soon forced to do all transactions in specie. This use of coins or the "metallic medium" compelled the inhabitants to carry their money in gold and sometimes silver, which obviously led to considerable inconvenience. Another problem was the fact that gold had to be exchanged for paper money in all transactions with the Cape Colony.⁸⁶⁾ The proper safe-keeping of specie was also a need felt generally.

This unsatisfactory position⁸⁷⁾ eventually led to the establishment of the British Kaffrarian Bank, which opened its doors to the public at the beginning of August 1858.⁸⁸⁾ This Bank existed until October 1863 when it was amalgamated with the Standard Bank.⁸⁹⁾

83) G. Journal, 29.9.1855, containing amended regulations for British Kaffraria.

84) G. Journal, 21.5.1853 (Advertisement).

85) K. Gazette, 14.8.1856 (Advertisement).

86) K. Gazette, 13.6.1857.

87) K. Gazette, 29.8.1857 (Undated letter by "Briton").

88) K. Gazette, 7.8.1858.

89) S.A. Banking and Finance : The British Kaffrarian Bank, p.18.

The need for a savings bank in King William's Town, as distinct from the existing commercial bank, was in the meanwhile publicly expressed for the first time on 19 February 1859. The local Gazette of that date stated that there were many labouring men who might be induced to deposit some of their income in a savings bank and that no place offered a better chance of success for such an institution than King William's Town with its diverse community.⁹⁰⁾

The British Kaffrarian Savings Bank eventually materialized and opened its doors to Black and White on 12 May 1860. This opening anticipated the proclamation which finally constituted and authorized the establishment of the British Kaffrarian Savings Bank Society by two weeks.⁹¹⁾ The Bank's new rules and regulations stated by way of introduction:

"(The Bank) ... is conducted on the same principle as the 'Cape of Good Hope Savings' Bank Society', to receive Deposits from Tradesmen, Mechanics, Labourers and other, either European or Native, as well as from Friendly, Charitable, & Benevolent Societies, and to manage the same with a view to afford every industrious, provident person, in British Kaffraria or elsewhere, the means of obtaining perfect security for their savings, together with a reasonable rate of interest..."⁹²⁾

The Bank's management was vested in a committee consisting of a president, vice-president and seven directors. Deposits could be as small as one shilling, which made the Savings Bank much more acceptable to the Xhosa. They had no representative, however, on the management committee. Loans at low rates were also available.⁹³⁾ Through these loans, as well as through outright donations designed to aid worthy causes and institutions in King William's Town, the influence of the Savings Bank on all sections of the local community had been considerable ever since.

90) K. Gazette, 19.12.1859 (Notes of the Week).

91) K. Gazette, 9.6.1860.

92) K. Gazette, 9.6.1860.

93) K. Gazette, 9.6.1860.

By August 1861 the Kaffrarian capital could therefore boast two thriving banking institutions. The insecurity and inconvenience caused by irregular supplies of specie only three years previously, had by then been almost forgotten.

1. Trading with Kaffraria Proper:

King William's Town was a main supply centre of the large Xhosa population in Kaffraria Proper during the 1850 s and 1860 s. The European traders (or their assistants) and their transport drivers moved to and fro between the town and its north-eastern hinterland. The close economic ties which consequently developed, gave an important impetus to local trade and to the expanding wagon-making industry in particular.

From the outset stringent rules were enforced to regulate this growing trade with Kaffraria Proper. A proclamation published on 28 April 1853 forced traders who had trading links beyond the British Kaffrarian boundary to take out an annual licence of £20. In addition, a payment of £1 for every journey by wagon across the border was compulsory, apart from the necessity to get a permit from the Resident Magistrate at King William's Town for each such trip. The carrying of gunpowder or fire-arms was also restricted. For purposes of self-defence traders were allowed the possession of one fire-arm for themselves and one for every driver — with one pound of gunpowder per fire-arm. It was further required that all ammunition had to be marked and registered at the Magistrate's Office in the Kaffrarian capital.⁹⁴⁾ Heavy penalties for illegal traffic in ammunition beyond the boundaries of British Kaffraria were laid down.⁹⁵⁾

94) G. Journal, 7.5.1853, referring to a Proclamation published in the Government Gazette of 28 April 1853.

95) G. Journal, 29.4.1854.

These strict regulations which were in force until 1855, discouraged trade between King William's Town and the territory east of the Kei River. It particularly affected trading in cattle and corn. The payment of £1 for every wagon even applied to empty wagons crossing the Kei River to fetch corn. Shipping vessels on the other hand were not charged. As early as April 1854 merchants in the Kaffrarian capital therefore decided to ship some of the corn.⁹⁶⁾

Another setback for this trade was the fact that the overseas demand for gum had almost ceased by March 1855. This was because potatoes were increasingly used for making gum. The gum trade was one of the oldest ones on the Frontier and until 1855 wagon-loads of this commodity were constantly sent off from Kaffraria Proper via King William's Town to Port Elizabeth. From there the gum was shipped to England.

Sir George Grey's proclamation of 7 September 1855, which repealed the earlier regulations, did not improve the situation much as far as trading beyond the boundaries of the Kei was concerned. Although the annual traders' licences were reduced to £10, this compared less than favourably with the licence fees for British Kaffraria at £2. This time the regulations stipulated, among other things, that any wagon proceeding into Kaffraria Proper without a passport could be forfeited and the goods in it confiscated.⁹⁷

Despite these restrictions the trade between King William's Town and the area east of the Kei expanded rapidly. The cattle-killing crisis clearly showed the territory's strong economic dependence on the Kaffrarian capital by 1857. A growing number of Xhosa from this territory visited the town to buy and sell.

96) G. Journal, 17.3.1855 (Undated letter from "Suffolk Giles").

97) G. Journal, 29.9.1855.

During Sir George Grey's administration King William's Town experienced a period of unprecedented growth in which it rose from a village to an impressive town. This expansion hinged to a very large degree on the trade with the Xhosa — even beyond British Kaffraria's borders. The economic contact between Black and White locally were undoubtedly of great mutual benefit to both communities. In a wider context this contact had a lasting influence on some of the Xhosa's traditional economic and social patterns.

CONCLUSION

In the period covered by this thesis, the Xhosa played a crucial rôle in many aspects of the development of King William's Town. The town owed its origin to the Buffalo Mission which was established on that particular spot because of the presence of the Ama Ntinde tribe. Apart from its christianizing influence, this Mission was the most important educational institution in that era. The Kaffrarian capital's impressive growth in the 1850s was largely the result of the "Kaffir trade" which clearly pointed to the economic dependence of British Kaffraria, and even Kaffraria Proper, on the town. The Xhosa's introduction to new commodities, particularly items of food and clothing, affected their traditional economic and social structures.

To cater for the Xhosa population of British Kaffraria as a whole, several institutions were created in King William's Town, including the Native Hospital, the Criminal Court and new administrative departments. The presence of the Xhosa and the fact that this period had been preceded by three frontier wars, was directly responsible for the stationing there of a large military garrison as well as the improvement of roads, primarily for military purposes, which linked the town with other parts of British Kaffraria, the Cape Colony and Kaffraria Proper.

The Kaffrarian capital played a central rôle in an event like the cattle-killing catastrophe which had nation-wide repercussions. The town's medical and administrative services contributed to saving the lives of thousands of Xhosa during this crisis and their rôle has not yet been fully recognized. King William's Town was involved too in the subsequent transportation of convicts to the Western Province. Furthermore, the capital was closely associated with the formulation and implementation of Sir George Grey's labour system, as well as several other features of his native policy. With Grey's departure in 1861 most of the administrative foundations affecting the Xhosa locally, and in a wider context, had been laid. It has been shown that Grey's High Commissionership constituted a watershed in matters affecting the daily lives of the Xhosa at King William's Town and further afield. Although Grey had inherited a Frontier situation, his dynamic approach led to radical changes of a permanent nature.

During this phase King William's Town undoubtedly had pivotal importance for the whole Xhosa nation and its influence extended far beyond its boundaries. It is

therefore clear that a subject like this cannot be viewed in isolation as there is an interaction between local, regional and national history. Another feature of the Kaffrarian capital in this era was that segregation was rigidly applied at all levels, with the result that there was very limited communication between the local Xhosa and European communities.

Grey's final departure in August 1861 marked the dividing line between a crucial period of reconstruction and readjustment for the Xhosa in and around King William's Town and a policy of financial stringency which Sir Philip Wodehouse followed. King William's Town's commanding rôle as a place in which so much of later Xhosa history had been shaped, was diminished. With the annexation in 1866 of British Kaffraria to the Cape, King William's Town lost its importance as a capital too. In spite of a notable wagon-building industry, the town gradually became much more of a local centre in character and function. This was more particularly the case when East London rose to become a considerable harbour city during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

SOURCES

Note on Sources:

The British Kaffrarian records are undoubtedly the most important primary sources concerning the Xhosa's rôle in the development of King William's Town during Grey's High Commissionership. These documents which are housed in the Cape Archives comprise 462 volumes which contain a wealth of information on the Frontier capital. The existence of these sources makes King William's Town one of the best documented urban areas in the country.

Despite the extent of the British Kaffrarian records, the lack of first-hand information reflecting the Xhosa point of view is conspicuous. There are very few letters written by Xhosa; they deal with administrative matters and not a single document reflects the local Xhosas' aspirations and frustrations during this period. One of the volumes of the British Kaffrarian records (BK 110) contains an interesting diary covering the years 1850 to 1858; it was apparently written by two successive clerks of the Chief Commissioner and was often invaluable in filling missing gaps. It is perhaps worthy of publication. This archive is indispensable for study of any aspect of the history of the Frontier region during the British Kaffrarian era and it is surprising that so important a source of information has been used so little.

The Government House and Colonial Office archival groups were also useful for this thesis. Apart from the Cape Archives, the South African Library in Cape Town, the Jagger Library at the University of Cape Town, the Kaffrarian Museum in King William's Town, the Albany Museum in Grahamstown, the Africana Museum in Johannesburg and the Cory Library in Grahamstown all provided rewarding source material.

I have made extensive use of current newspapers, particularly the King William's Town Gazette. Although viewed through the eyes of the Europeans, the Gazette's accuracy on factual matters was never in doubt. The three local German newspapers which I consulted proved profitable sources about a major event like the cattle-killing episode. These papers were more sympathetically inclined towards the Xhosa and their customs. Documentation on the local Xhosa's economic activities and attitudes was usually extremely limited, but advertisements and statistical returns often provided invaluable fragments for reconstructing the past.

Secondary sources seldom shed significant light on the subject, but the most useful of them have been referred to in my preface.

I. ARCHIVAL RECORDS

i Cape Archives:

British Kaffrarian Records:

BK 1 - 5	Letters Received, High Commissioner, 1847 - 1863.
BK 7 - 9	Colonial Secretary, 1852 - 1866.
BK 11	Letters Received, Lieutenant-Governor, 1856 - 1863.
BK 14	President, Criminal Court Commission, 1856 - 1860.
BK 17 - 20	Surveyor-General, King William's Town, 1853 - 1861.
BK 41	Irish Female Settlers, 1857 - 1858; German Military Settlers, 1858 - 1865.
BK 44 - 47	Miscellaneous Letters and Memorials, 1847 - 1861.
BK 57	Sundry Memorials, 1854 - 1866.
BK 65 - 66	Resident Magistrate, King William's Town, 1853 - 1861.
BK 68	Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, King William's Town, 1853 - 1866.
BK 89	Native Police, 1844 - 1857; Secret Information, 1856 - 1857; Special Magistrate, King William's Town, 1852 - 1865.
BK 90 - 92	Missions, 1848 - 1866.
BK 93 - 94	Civil Engineer, 1855 - 1866.
BK 99	Royal Engineers and Commissariat Military Stores, 1853 - 1864.
BK 100, - 101	Superintendent of Native Hospitals, 1856 - 1864.
BK 106	Ordinances, 1861.
BK 109	Government Notices, 1847 - 1866.
BK 110	Index to Government Notices, 1861 - 1866; Diary, 1850 - 1857.
BK 112	Municipality, King William's Town, 1861 - 1866.
BK 113	Kaffir Depredations, 1850 - 1865.
BK 114	Circulars and Replies to Circulars, 1853 - 1865.
BK 115	Distribution Printed Forms and Passes, 1857.
BK 124	Tenders.
BK 140	Pensions and Allowances, Kaffir Chiefs, Counsellors and Headmen, 1852 - 1862.
BK 141	Abstracts, Revenue, Expenditure, 1856 - 1866.
BK 174 - 175	Requisitions to incur Expenditure, 1858 - 1861.
BK 177	Advances, 1857; Auditors' Queries, 1852 - 1856; Accounts, Good Conduct Fund, 1852 - 1861.
BK 178	Approval of Requisitions, King William's Town, 1859 - 1862.
BK 185	Receipts and Disbursements, 1849 - 1855.
BK 190 - 282	British Kaffraria : Advances, Accounts and Salary Abstracts : August 1855 - September 1861.

BK 371 - 373	Letters Despatched to High Commissioner, 1848 - 1863.
BK 374 - 382	Schedules of Documents submitted to the High Commissioner, 1852 - 1863.
BK 386 - 387	Letter Books, 1858 - 1862.
BK 390	Letter Book (Finance), 1858 - 1861.
BK 392 - 393	Letters Despatched to Treasurer, Auditor - General and Auditor, 1848 - 1861.
BK 398 - 400	Letter Books, Treasurer, 1855 - 1866; Auditor, 1855 - 1866.
BK 401	Letter Book, Clerk of the Peace, 1857 - 1863.
BK 403 - 409	Miscellaneous Letter Book, Letters Despatched, 1847 - 1862.
BK 418	Schedules of Documents submitted to Governor, August 1860 - December 1861.
BK 419	Returns of Criminal Cases, Requisitions, Liquor Licences, 1860 - 1865.
BK 421	Convicts and Hospital Ration Matters, Printed Matter, Memoranda, Draft Proclamations, Draft Letters, 1853 - 1864.
BK 422	Circulars, 1856 - 1861; Authorities for payments and appointments, 1848 - 1854.
BK 423 - 424	Kaffrarian Board, 1852 - 1855.
BK 432	Kaffir Police. Diary of Proceedings, 1848.
BK 433	Superintendent Commanding 1st Division, Kaffir Police, 1849.
BK 445 - 452	Miscellaneous, 31.12.1847 - 30.12.1853.
BK 454	Reports on Sales of Captured Cattle, 23.9.1851 - 13.2.1852.
BK 457	Returns of Rations, Police, Financial Matters, February 1848 - April 1866.
BK 459	Letters Received from High Commissioner (Copies, Letter Book), 1848 - 1856.
BK 460	British Kaffrarian Ordinances, 1860 - 1863.

Colonial Office:

CO 620	Councils, Foreign Governments and Colonies. Natal, Orange River Sovereignty and British Kaffraria.
CO 634	Chief Commissioner, British Kaffraria and Special Commissioner, Sir G. Clarke.
CO 690	British Kaffraria. Chief Commissioner, etc.
CO 4392	Arrears. Departmental, Military and Country, 1848 - 1851.

Defence Department:

DD 15/2	Authority Book Kaffir War, 1850 - 1853.
DD 15/4 - 15/5	Military Orders, May 1857 - February 1860.

Deputy Surveyor-General, British Kaffraria:

DSGBK 1 - 3 Government Letters Received, 14.2.1856 - 19.12.1862.

Government House:

GH 8/44 Letters from Sir G. Berkeley, 1847.
 GH 8/49 - 50 British Kaffraria. Demi-Official, 1854 - 1858.
 GH 14/9 Chief Commissioner, British Kaffraria, 1848 - 1851.
 GH 20/2/1 Papers Relative to British Kaffraria (1853 - 1858) and
 Free State.
 GH 26/41, 26/48 Cape of Good Hope, Duplicate Despatches, 1848, 1850.
 GH 26/62 Duplicate Despatches to Secretary of State (British Kaffraria)
 1856.
 GH 30/4 - 5 Letter Books, British Kaffraria, 1852 - 1860.
 GH 30/6 Letter Book, Lieutenant-Governor, British Kaffraria,
 1860 - 1862.
 GH 36/1 - 4 Military Secretary's Office, Military and Naval, 1855 - 1861.
 GH 40/1 Monthly Return of Troops and G.M. Settlers, March 1855 -
 December 1858.

Lieutenant-Governor:

LG 138 - 139 Letters Received from the Chief Commissioner, 1856 - 1861.
 LG 141 Letters Received from Military Headquarters, Graham's Town
 and King William's Town, 1847 - 1863.

Resident Magistrate, King William's Town (Unsorted):

Miscellaneous Letters, 1853 - 1863.
 Sundry Miscellaneous Letters, 1854 - 1865.
 Letters, 1855 - 1861.
 •Letters re Police Constables, 1857 - 1858.
 Criminal Cases, 1859 - 1861.

ii Kaffrarian Museum:

Criminal Records, 1857 - 1861.
 Diary of Dr. J. P. Fitz Gerald, 1856 - 1859.

II. MICROFILMS

i Cape Archives:

London Missionary Society:

ZL 1/3/22 - 1/3/25 Letters Received, South Africa, 1853 - 1864.
 ZL 1/4/1 Catalogue on Letters Received, South Africa.
 ZL 1/7/2 Journals, 1816 - 1892.
 ZL 1/10/4 - 1/10/5 Letter Books, 1844 - 1865.

III. MAPS, PLANS AND PORTRAITS

i Cape Archives:

Portraits:

AG 2365 2370, 7362.
 E 189, 375, 2006, 5947.
 M 262, 624.

Maps and Plans:

M1: 75, 110, 113, 249, 332, 481 - 482, 562, 580, 583, 603, 659, 663 - 665, 667, 673, 679, 684, 712, 730, 789 - 796, 800 - 810, 812 - 814, 816 - 818, 820, 823 - 824, 827 - 832. 1380, 1464, 1737 - 1742, 1818, 2588, 2591, 2727, 2729, 2948, 2953 - 2954, 2963, 2972 - 2972, 2977.
 M2: 398, 494, 496, 498, 530 - 531, 510, 512 - 514, 547, 563 - 566, 570, 573, 577, 579 - 581, 913, 917, 922 - 923, 974, 977(A), 1618.
 M3: 201, 391 - 392, 396 - 397, 399 - 400, 402, 550.
 M4: 65, 67 - 68.

ii Albany Museum, Grahamstown:

Miscellaneous Maps and Plans.

iii Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town:

Miscellaneous Maps, Plans and Portraits.

iv South African Library, Cape Town (Africana Section):

Grey Album of Photographs (G 916.8 G 85).

Undated Plan (ca. 1856) showing Front Elevation of King William's Town Hospital (transferred from Auckland Library, 1978).

IV. HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

i Africana Museum, Johannesburg:

Miscellaneous Documents.

ii Anglican Church Archives, Johannesburg:

A Note on the Beginning of Anglican Missionary Work from King William's Town, compiled by C. T. Wood.

iii Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown:

A. W. Burton Collection of historical notes and documents.

Illuminated Address presented to John Brownlee, 1867 (Document 2121).

iv Deeds Office, King William's Town:

Freehold Grant to John Brownlee dated 13 July 1856 and other documents about the Buffalo Mission.

v Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town:

Miscellaneous Documents, Exhibits and Files.

vi South African Library, Cape Town (Africana Section):

Grey's Letters : Folders 37, 61, 168 : 1886 - 1888, dealing largely with the Native Hospital.

V. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

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ii Cape of Good Hope Blue Books:

Colony of the Cape of Good Hope : Statistical Year Book, 1848 - 1851, 1853 - 1861.

Reports on Native Affairs, 1849 - 1862.

Report and Proceedings, with Appendices, of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, 1883.

iii Other:

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VI. BOOKS, THESES AND PAMPHLETS

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